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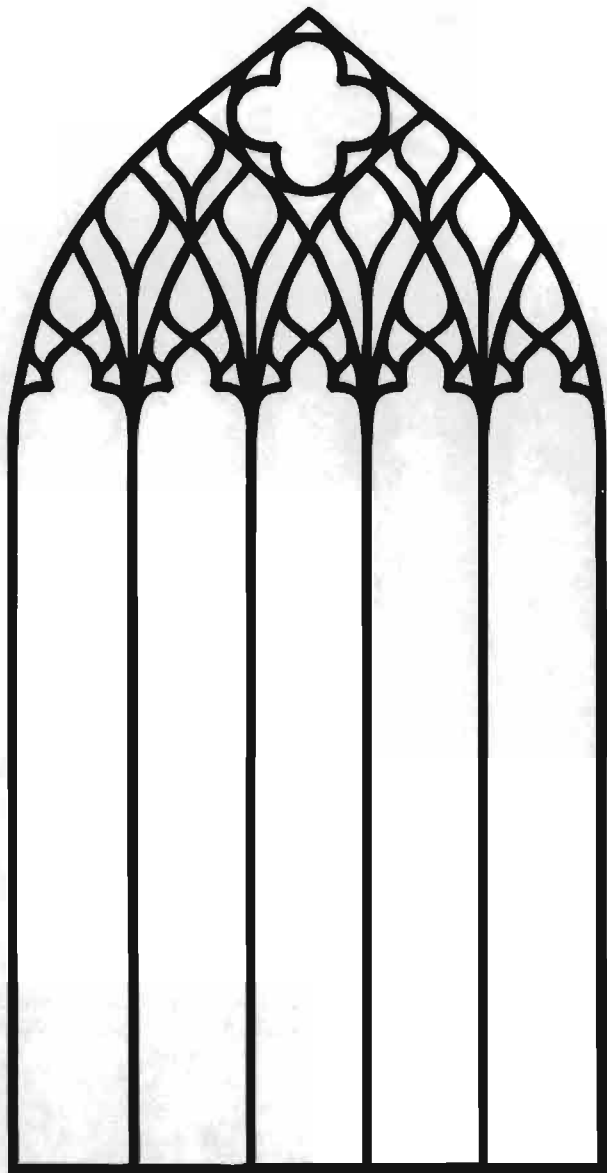
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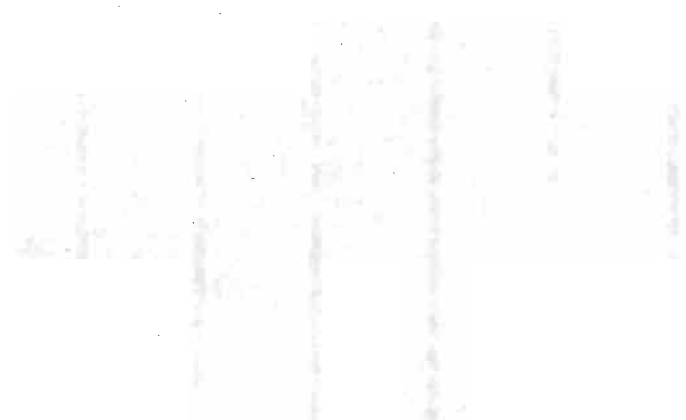


FALL 2003

JOURNAL OF MORMON HISTORY



FALL 2003



COVER: Abstraction of the window tracery, Salt Lake City Tenth Ward. Design by Warren Archer.

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The Mormon History Association is an independent organization dedicated to the study and understanding of all aspects of Mormon history. We welcome all who are interested in the Mormon past, irrespective of religious affiliation, academic training, or world location. We promote our goals through scholarly research, conferences, awards, and publications.

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The *Journal of Mormon History* exists to foster scholarly research and publication in the field of Mormon history. Manuscripts dealing with all aspects of Mormon history are welcome, including twentieth-century history, regional and local history, women's history, and ethnic/minorities history. First consideration will be given to those that make a strong contribution to knowledge through new interpretations and/or new information. The Board of Editors will also consider the paper's general interest, accuracy, level of interpretation, and literary quality. The *Journal* does not consider reprints or simultaneous submissions.

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Dean L. May

DEAN L. MAY

6 APRIL 1930 - 6 MAY 2003

Jan Shipps

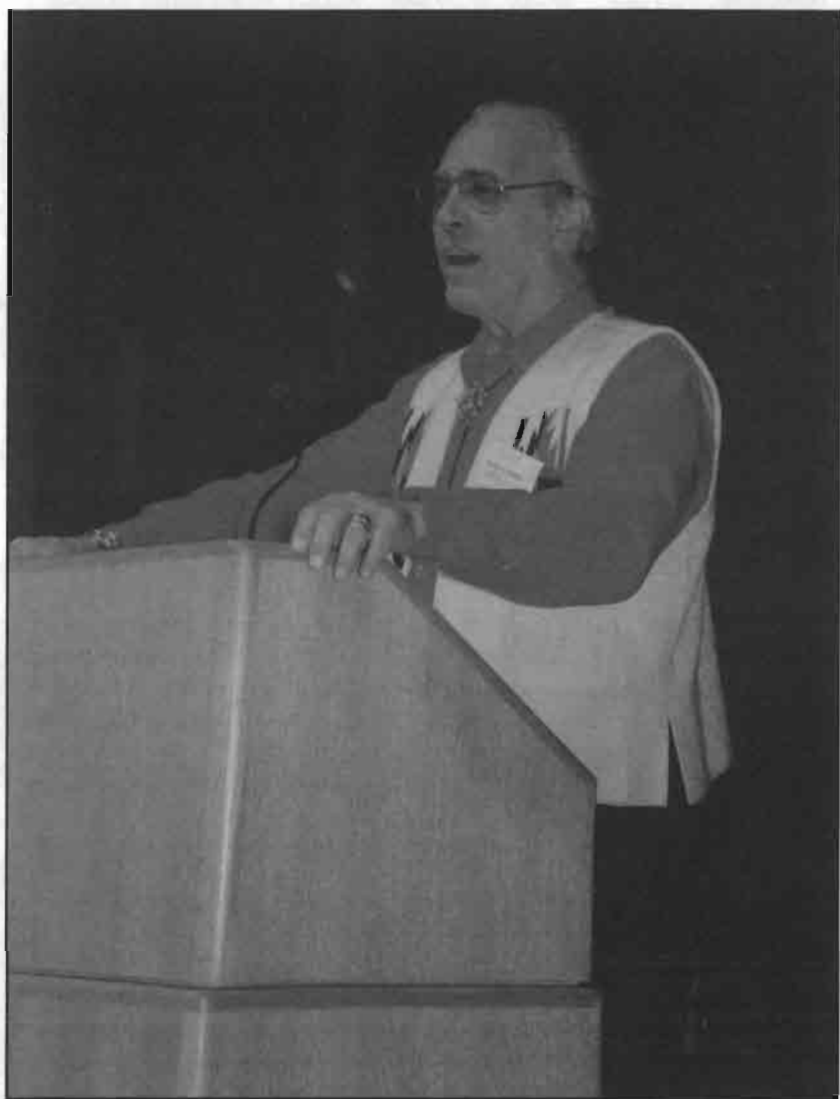
When the Mormon History Association convened in Tucson in May 2002, Dean L. May presided over a gathering that was vital, creative, friendly, and professional. His departure leaves a terrible lacuna in his domestic universe, his church, his extraordinarily diverse circle of friends and colleagues, the University of Utah, the history profession, and the Mormon History Association.

Dean gave a paper on Kanab's demography at MHA's first official luncheon, sponsored at the Organization of American Historians. Drawing on a just-completed course in statistics at the Newberry Library, it started him toward being a demographer. In an article on Mormon ethnicity for the *Harvard Encyclopedia of Ethnicity*, he brought together anthropology and history methods. In coauthoring *Building the City of God* with Leonard J. Arrington and Feramorz Y. Fox, he clarified the United Order in nineteenth-century Mormonism while illuminating community and cooperation in twentieth-century Mormonism. In *Three Frontiers*, honored with MHA's Best Book award, Dean brought demography and social history together in a cross-cultural study of the varied communities that settled the Far West.

Dean and Cheryl served on the program committee for the MHA annual meeting in Canandaigua in 1980, for which Dean secured a grant to inaugurate the MHA Tanner Lectures. Ever since, an outstanding non-Mormon scholar has annually shared observations, perceptions, and analyses of some aspect of the Mormon past, thus helping locate the study of Mormonism in the larger field of history and religion.

Always Dean searched for ways to connect the past and the present. His presidential address focused on converts' sea voyages during the gathering to Zion as an important aspect of "making Saints." This address also called on his own experience as a teacher and ship president aboard a sailing vessel that reenacted a typical nineteenth-century voyage. Then in a charming gesture as president, he told how he had driven to the Idaho farm where Leonard Arrington grew and, with permission, took an unusual rock from the irrigation canal. He passed this "MHA black seer stone" on to the incoming MHA president as a more meaningful symbol than the traditional presidential gavel.

Dean May was a lovable human being—vital, creative, friendly, and thoroughly professional. We will all miss him. But his presence remains part of who we are as a community of scholars.



Stanley B. Kimball

STANLEY B. KIMBALL

25 NOVEMBER 1926 - 15 MAY 2003

Maurine Carr Ward

When I interviewed Stan for *Mormon Historical Studies*, he welcomed me with open arms. We sipped juice on his porch overlooking St. George as we talked, then joined Violet for ice cream. He never, by so much as a glance at the clock, conceded what he later confessed—that it had not been one of his “good days.”

When I called Stan a maverick, he twinkled, “What the hell did you expect from a relative of J. Golden Kimball?”—not to mention Heber C. Kimball and Alpheus Cutler. He grew up in Farmington, Utah, enlisted in the Air Force, then was later one of the last LDS missionaries in Czechoslovakia before the Communist takeover in 1950. He wrote his dissertation on the Czech National Theater and, with a Rockefeller Grant, studied Slavs in Utah.

In 1959, Stan was hired to teach East European history at Southern Illinois University, convinced the director of graduate studies that the school should become a repository for Mormon documents, and started writing letters. As 84,000 pages of material poured in, Stan wangled money for catalogers, grants for student researchers, and a room in the library.

We all have an indelible mental picture of Stan behind a podium with his red shirt, Indian vest, and large turquoise bolo tie, grinning as he taught us what he knew so well. “My whole life is performance,” he said. “If I can help people understand themselves or history, that’s what I enjoy doing.”

Consumed with curiosity about Mormon trails, he worked for many years with the Bureau of Land Management on all western trails. “When you are in an area where something important happened, there’s a special feeling that you don’t get anywhere else,” Stan said.

Besides his trail book, he wrote a biography of Heber C. Kimball, honored with MHA’s Best Book Award, edited Heber C. Kimball’s diaries, and produced many other books and articles. He served as president of MHA (1984) and received the Grace Arrington Award for Mormon History Excellence (1992).

Violet was the love of his life. He was supremely proud of her writing, loved playing the piano while Violet sang, and adored his children and grandchildren.

Now he has moved on to discover new trails, but I, like so many, have been richly blessed by knowing, learning from, and listening to Stanley B. Kimball.

GEORGE Q. CANNON'S ECONOMIC STRATEGY IN THE 1890s DEPRESSION

Edward Leo Lyman

FROM MID-1893 THROUGH 1898, while the United States endured its worst yet economic depression, George Q. Cannon, first counselor to Mormon Church President Wilford Woodruff, formulated and partially implemented a recovery plan for the Mormon cultural region. Drawing on the generation-long tradition of economic self-sufficiency stressed by Brigham Young, who had been Cannon's mentor in many ways, this plan gave priority to stimulating employment. This part of the plan received widespread support from nearly all of Cannon's colleagues in the Twelve. But of perhaps even greater urgency was keeping local control, as much as possible, of the region's economic institutions and resources. This aspect of the plan, though fraught with greater controversy, was an important step in the history of the Mormon Church's long-term economic growth and diversification. Cannon's strategy sought to use Church credit and leadership in a two-pronged ef-

EDWARD LEO LYMAN {lionman011@earthlink.net} has been writing about Mormon history for over three decades, including *Political Deliverance: The Mormon Quest for Utah Statehood* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1986). He is currently editing the diaries of Caroline Barnes Crosby and Abraham H. Cannon and writing a biography: *Amasa Mason Lyman: Missionary, Apostle, and Apostate*. His *From the City of the Saints to the City of the Angels: Wagon Transportation from Salt Lake City to Los Angeles, 1848-1870* is forthcoming in 2004 from the University of Nevada Press.

fort: first, to organize a series of companies in which Mormons retained a controlling interest, and second, to attract financial assistance from eastern brokerage firms that seemed sympathetic with the first goal. This aspect proved to be one with which many of the General Authorities disagreed. Although only partially successful, these fervent efforts in which Cannon persisted, as the prime mover not only fostered several major regional economic enterprises but also laid a significant portion of the foundation of valuable stocks and other assets for the Church's amazingly diverse and extensive twentieth-century financial holdings. However, as this paper explains, Cannon never received credit for his efforts.

The Church headed into the Panic of '93, usually dated as beginning in May, already suffering from serious economic straits. The Salt Lake Temple, started forty years previously, had been dedicated with great rejoicing in ceremonies 6-24 April. The temple's cost, some \$4 million, had been a major financial drain on the Church and many of its faithful, especially in the past three years. Furthermore, the Church's stubborn resistance to the federal government had left the Church some \$300,000 in debt. Despite its success in shifting control of some properties into friendly hands, the Church had, in July 1888, been compelled to deliver assets worth "well in excess of \$1,000,000" to government receivers, who were flagrantly careless in their oversight.¹ According to Leonard Arrington, Frank H. Dyer, court-appointed receiver of confiscated Church property, neglected to charge interest on cash placed in non-Mormon controlled banks, thereby losing an estimated \$250,000 in revenue for the Church. Furthermore, by 1891, 17 percent of the property in the receivers' hands had reportedly been "frittered away" for supposed expenses. In the meantime, in the fall of 1888 Church leaders had had to borrow \$240,000 from friendly local banks to meet their obligations but were unable to pay down the principal on these notes and kept up with the interest through

¹Heber J. Grant, Journal, 25 April 1893, Archives, Family and Church History Department, Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City (hereafter LDS Church Archives). I saw the holograph of this diary during the glorious Arrington years and took copious notes, from which these quotations are taken. The diary is not currently available to researchers.

refinancing, which greatly compounded the accumulated interest expense.²

Another source of financial strain during the 1880s was the Church's interest in sugar manufacturing. Although an effort to make sugar during the 1850s had proved unsuccessful, the estimated million dollars per year drained from the region to purchase imported sugar, continued to gall Brigham Young's successors who were concerned with territorial economic independence. A local sugar industry still seemed to be a starting point for promoting greater self-sufficiency in the region. The experiments during the 1880s of longtime advocate Arthur Stayner mainly solved the technical problems of extracting sugar from beets grown in alkaline soil. Stayner approached Church leaders for financial assistance in purchasing equipment and building a factory, but they reluctantly refused, due to the continued political and economic onslaught from federal officials. However, when Stayner and a few other Mormon promoters of the Utah Sugar Company began raising funds in 1889, the Church authorities gave strong public encouragement. Still, by the fall of 1890, the heads of the company had managed to raise only \$15,000 of the \$50,000 necessary to construct the proposed factory in Lehi, Utah.

The First Presidency, then composed of Wilford Woodruff, George Q. Cannon, and Joseph F. Smith, determined to use Church credit and funds as necessary to underwrite the enterprise by endorsing a loan note of \$35,000 from Zion's Savings Bank and Trust. The next year they appropriated \$50,000 from tithing funds, borrowed \$150,000 from local banks, and negotiated an additional \$100,000 loan from Wells Fargo in San Francisco. These loans were all to support the sugar industry, although there were probably others for other Church purposes. These debts were certainly not paid off several years later as the nation entered its worst economic depression yet. Successfully producing sugar earlier in the decade, near the end of the 1895-96 season the company paid its first cash dividend. However, because the skepticism of many Utah businessmen

²Leonard J. Arrington, "Utah and the Depression of the 1890's," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 29 (January 1961): 3-18; Leonard J. Arrington, *Great Basin Kingdom: Economic History of the Latter-day Saints, 1830-1900* (1958, reprint, Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1966), 365-79, 400.

curtailed private investment, the industry would not have been launched without major Church assistance.³

On 25 April 1893, the day after the Salt Lake Temple dedication was complete, the First Presidency and Twelve met to consider the Church's financial options. They decided to send George Q. Cannon and Heber J. Grant, the two men most responsible for securing the sugar financing, to financial centers in the East and even to Great Britain to borrow more money. Cannon's acquaintance, Lord Rosebery, who had once visited Utah, was just replacing William Gladstone as prime minister; more important, Rosebery's father-in-law was Nathan Mayer Rothschild, head of the leading European banking house. Grant left first, traveling to Chicago and New York in early May, but even individuals and institutions who had been the source of previous funding now refused to loan money. Grant confided to his journal that money was "exceedingly scarce. Every avenue seems to be dried up."⁴

When Cannon joined him, the two decided, to Grant's disappointment, that he must remain in New York to continue his search while Cannon journeyed to England alone. In London Cannon gained an audience with the prime minister and secured a letter of introduction to Baron Rothschild. Rothschild refused to consider any loans but introduced him to the head of another banking house, Pannial, Gordon, Hill and Company. That effort, too, proved futile. Cannon returned to New York in July much discouraged.⁵

Meantime, the Utah crisis worsened. Grant's brother-in-law Heber M. Wells, then head cashier of Zion's Bank and soon to be Utah's first state governor, to Grant, confirmed: "All the eastern and west-

³Arrington, *Great Basin Kingdom*, 386-390; Francis M. Lyman Journal, 2 August 1893, LDS Church Archives, noted "that it is now concluded that the Church should now . . . shoulder up the sugar factory notes, which it has always agreed to back up." Cannon was also a director of the Ogden Sugar Company, organized in 1897. In 1899, it produced 58,348 100-pound bags of sugar and became part of an industry so thriving that Utah was third in the nation for sugar production in 1916. Richard C. Roberts and Richard W. Sadler, *History of Weber County* (Salt Lake City: Utah State Historical Society/Weber County Commission, 1997), 237-38.

⁴Grant, Journal, 11 May, 11 June 1893.

⁵Davis Bitton, *George Q. Cannon: A Biography* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1999), 338-41.

ern loaning agencies who formerly put out money [at Salt Lake City] have ceased operations entirely. . . . With ruin staring us in the face it almost drives me to a frenzy.”⁶ In a letter to Grant in late June, Joseph F. Smith admitted that, for the first time, the Church could not pay its employees, nor even provide the allowance for the First Presidency and Twelve. Apostle Francis M. Lyman conceded: “The pressure upon the Church is very great just now. The Lord will have to come to our rescue or we will be compelled into bankruptcy.”⁷ George Q. Cannon, who had returned to Utah on 1 August 1893, leaving Grant still in New York, lamented: “Never before among us have financial affairs been in such a condition. Nothing can be sold and everyone is more or less in debt.” He felt the pinch personally; he could not pay serious family obligations because his creditors could not pay. A few weeks later, he expressed his anxiety over the large-scale unemployment in the region.⁸

Just at that point, in August 1893 Grant succeeded in obtaining the loan of a quarter million dollars for two years at 6 percent interest through a broker for eastern financial interests named John Claflin, with whom he had had previous dealings. After his initial elation, he also experienced some apprehension because of the terms attached. The annual interest rate of 6 percent was acceptable. But Grant was especially troubled because the lender had been associated in some way with a bad debt incurred by Brigham Young’s son John W., a railroad promoter, ordained an apostle by his father and sustained as a counselor to his father and, after Brigham’s death, as a counselor to the Quorum but never becoming one of the Twelve. The lender stipulated that this debt, the sum of \$50,000, must be paid from the principal of the loan, leaving the Church only \$200,000 for actual use. In addition 1 percent of the interest would go to Claflin, as his fee for negotiating the loan. Cannon was also displeased with these aspects of the transaction but conceded that they had to be accepted to save the Utah banks. He and Wilford Woodruff endorsed the notes. Despite this, as the naturally pessimistic Grant examined the accounts of the State Bank, Zions Savings Bank and Trust, and his

⁶Wells letter quoted in Grant, Journal, 12 July 1893.

⁷Smith quoted in Grant, Journal, 30 June 1893; Lyman, Journal, 20 July 1893.

⁸Cannon, Journal, 3 August 1893, quoted in Bitton, *George Q. Cannon*, 341.

own Cannon, Grant and Company, he concluded that they "will have to fail." Yet at the same time, he noted, Cannon had "unbound[ed] faith that we will come out all right." Cannon's optimism doubtless encouraged Grant to finally affirm: "We will all get through the present financial storm all right."⁹

Cannon was not relying solely on divine intervention. During this desperate summer of 1893, he must have pondered Brigham Young's emphasis on home industry and Mormon control of intermountain resources. In consequence, he conceived a plan that he fervently believed would resolve the economic crisis. His vision of the ultimate outcome seems particularly impressive because he was apparently alone among his colleagues in considering it possible, although he eventually encountered non-Mormons George A. Purbeck and Joseph Bannigan, kindred and eastern financiers, who helped work out the details of the grand scheme.

While some disagreed over means, others of the Twelve widely shared Cannon's concern about the suffering of the unemployed Saints. John W. Taylor, Cannon's first cousin and son of former Church president John Taylor, stated in early October 1893 that "the greatest labor that devolved on the Presidency and apostles at the present time was to furnish those who were out of work with employment."¹⁰ Soon afterward, Heber J. Grant wrote in his diary that he could "think of nothing that is more painful than to see so many people who were willing to work and who are good workers being out of employment." During October general conference, several speakers promoted the sugar industry and other such endeavors. Home industry was not only to provide employment and retain money at home, but as Cannon emphasized, was "the true way to build Zion."¹¹ Joseph F. Smith lamented that there was not then "a single enterprise of a public character that was

⁹Grant, Journal, 4, 7 August, 2 September 1893, and explanatory diary notation, (no date) September 1893; Bitton, *George Q. Cannon*, 345. Ronald W. Walker, "Crisis in Zion: Heber J. Grant and the Panic of '93," *Arizona and the West*, Autumn 1979, 257-78, reprinted in *Sunstone*, January-February, 1980, 26-34, explains that Cannon, Grant and Company was organized to help finance the Utah Sugar Company.

¹⁰Taylor quoted in Grant, Journal, 5-6 October 1893; 10 January 1894.

¹¹Bitton, *George Q. Cannon*, 346.

calculated to give employment to our people." With the railroads in outside hands, he announced, "we began to feel that there was a responsibility resting upon us which required something to be done, in a small way at least, in the direction of giving employment to our people." Several others also mentioned similar aims, including the fact that the sugar factory offered farmers good remuneration for growing beets.¹²

It was just at this time in November 1893 that the First Presidency engaged Isaac Trumbo and James S. Clarkson, already lobbyists for Utah's statehood, to secure the necessary outside financial backing to construct a railroad from Salt Lake City southwestward to Los Angeles.¹³ Trumbo was a thirty-five-year-old San Francisco businessman with family ties to the Mormons. Clarkson, an Iowa newspaperman, was also a leading official in the national Republican Party. Except for sugar manufacturing and perhaps coal mining, both attempted years before, the Salt Lake and Los Angeles Railroad was the oldest enterprise that the Mormon hierarchy sought to promote. First incorporated in California in 1887, its leading advocate was Isaac Trumbo. Church leaders supported the railroad by taking grading contracts and seeking to enlist British capital, but these efforts had failed by 1889. After several semi-dormant years, Trumbo and Clarkson linked successful railroad construction with some of the political intrigues essential to deliver statehood to Utah. Just as the Utah admission effort entered its decisive year, from July 1893 through mid-1894, the First Presidency signed a contract on 3 October 1893 for Trumbo and Clarkson to also serve as financial agents promoting the Salt Lake and Los Angeles Railroad until it failed in February 1894. This contract was apparently an agreement that Trumbo and Clarkson would secure the steel rails necessary for roadway construction and

¹²Joseph F. Smith, address on 8 October 1893, *Deseret Evening News*, 16 December 1893. Grant, *Journal*, 5, 6 October 1893, noted that "the principal subject dwelt upon" in the priesthood session "was the necessity of establishing home industries in producing more of the necessities of life instead of importing so many articles that can be manufactured at home."

¹³Abraham H. Cannon, *Journal*, 29 November 1893, holograph, L. Tom Perry Special Collections, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah.

sell first-mortgage bonds.¹⁴ Just over a month later, Clarkson reported to Church leaders that the time appeared favorable for such sales, but it proved not to be true.¹⁵

Also that autumn, Cannon led out in engaging the highest Church leaders, their resources, and their credit to support a major hydro-electric project on the Ogden River about forty miles north of Salt Lake City. This project proved to be the most immediately successful enterprise that the First Presidency promoted during the depression of the 1890s. Chief engineer Charles K. Bannister, a relative newcomer to Utah, had recognized the enormous potential for generating electric power from the rapid fall of the Ogden River as it emerged from the Wasatch Mountains. The project stalled initially because of difficulties securing the essential financial backing. However, the First Presidency then became fully involved, probably

¹⁴A. H. Cannon, Journal, 29 November 1893, elaborates on the arrangement: "Father [George Q. Cannon] and his associates . . . are to hold the majority of the stock, and are to do the work of construction." Clarkson was then in the East, reporting that it was a favorable time for bond sales. The plan was to present bonds "not to exceed \$20,000 to the mile," meaning not to inflate the price of the bond shares more than that. They expected to actually build the road for some \$10,000 per mile so excellent profits were expected from the enterprise.

¹⁵Edward Leo Lyman, "From the City of Angels to the City of Saints: The Struggle to Build a Railroad from Los Angeles to Salt Lake City," *California History* 70 (Spring 1991): 79-80; "Financial Notes," 24. This last-cited source requires a word of explanation. In 1974, when I was doing research for my dissertation in the LDS Church Archives, a series of financial records had just been transferred from the vault in the First Presidency's office to the Historical Department. I spent several weeks studying these papers and dictating many key passages and letters into a tape recorder. These papers have long since been withdrawn from access to scholars. However, I hired students to transcribe the tapes. The result, although suffering from their inexperience, is a typescript of sixty-seven single-spaced legal-sized pages, which I have deposited at Special Collections, Sharrett Library, Southern Utah State University, Cedar City. This source, which I use heavily here for the first time, is cited as "Financial Notes," by date (when available) and by page number of the typed transcript.

because Cannon's son, Frank J., a resident of Ogden, interested him in the company's potential.

Organized in late November 1893,¹⁶ the Pioneer Electric Company also had the eventual goal of storing winter runoff from the Ogden River in a huge reservoir about ten miles east of Ogden, using the water to irrigate 20,000 acres of newly cultivated land near Plain City. Electricity generated by the stored water would power the city of Ogden, factories, and electric railways in Ogden and Salt Lake City. Prominent Ogden political and business leaders Fred J. Kiesel and Judge A. B. Patton were also involved in the venture. Many of the initial meetings were held at Salt Lake City, some at the offices of the First Presidency.¹⁷ The Church invested \$520,000 of the total \$2,500,000.¹⁸

George Q. Cannon, who was chosen president of the Pioneer Electric Company, wrote in his diary: "We are very desirous of securing all our streams in this way, that our enemies shall not have power to control our waters." Soon after the entire First Presidency visited the Ogden project sites, Cannon noted: "I have felt that we were doing something that would be a great benefit to our people in the future."¹⁹ He doubtless expressed the same opinion to his associates. Obviously President Woodruff agreed because, judging from his own diary entries, the power project probably took up more of the elderly Church leader's time and energy than any other matter outside of Church and family affairs from August 1894 through April 1897, about the time the power plant was completed with a capacity of 10,000 horsepower.²⁰

¹⁶Leonard Arrington, *Great Basin Kingdom*, 394, was mistaken in stating that the Utah power company was formed just twenty days after construction of the first hydroelectric plant in the West at Redlands, California. Actually, there were already several hydroelectric projects in southern California, but none was nearly so extensive as the Ogden project. See William A. Meyers, *Iron Men and Copper Wires: A Centennial History of the Southern California Edison Company* (Glendale, Calif.: Trans-Anglo Books, 1983), 10-33.

¹⁷Arrington, *Great Basin Kingdom*, 394-96; Roberts and Sadler, *History of Weber County*, 236-37.

¹⁸Roberts and Sadler, *History of Weber County*, 237.

¹⁹Cannon, *Diary*, 22 and 27 November 1893, quoted in Bitton, *George Q. Cannon*, 346-47.

At a meeting of the Quorum of the Twelve in late November 1893, Woodruff explained the presidency's involvement in the power plant project and Cannon made a presentation on the railroad venture, justifying it as necessary for the well-being of the members: "What do we propose to do for our people?" he asked rhetorically. "They are without work; they are likely to wander like sheep on the mountain without a shepherd." He concluded, "We must, it seems to me, in view of our responsibility as the leaders of Zion, do something to furnish the people employment and keep them from scattering."²¹ However, many LDS businessmen and even a few of the General Authorities did not believe any church should thus engage in commercial business, and they dominated the hierarchy during the last two and a half years of Cannon's life.

A post-Christmas meeting of the First Presidency and Twelve included a lengthy discussion about the wisdom of promoting a railroad to Los Angeles given the Church's precarious financial condition. Francis M. Lyman voiced approval of the construction project but opposed the use of Church funds for that purpose. He felt "off base," as he put it, to learn the other authorities had already approved making the railroad a "Church enterprise" in a meeting he had missed. He noted that Cannon seemed particularly annoyed at his objections.²² About two weeks later on 16 January, the Twelve again disagreed about the railroad—not whether to build it but where. According to Apostle Abraham ("Abram") Cannon, George Q.'s son, the men present were still not united in their opinions as to the appropriate destination for the railroad project. After further discussion, they resolved to build a shorter railroad to Coalville first, then consider the larger project after its completion.²³

²⁰Scott G. Kenney, *Wilford Woodruff's Journal: 1833-1898*, typescript (Midvale, Utah: Signature Books, 1983-65), 9:310-452. See also Grant, Journal, 29 November 1893; and the following articles in the *Ogden Standard*: "Contract Is Let," 18 April 1895; "Work in Canyon," 19 April 1895; "Utah's Greatest Canal" and "The New Power Plant," 1 January 1896.

²¹Cannon, Journal, 29 November 1893, quoted in Bitton, *George Q. Cannon*, 347.

²²Francis M. Lyman, Journal, 28 and 29 December 1893. In the first entry, Lyman noted, "My opposition to the question aroused much feeling in Pres. Cannon and Smith. Pres. Snow said I did just right."

²³A. H. Cannon, Journal, 16 January 1894. See also Lyman, Journal,

Lorenzo Snow, president of the Quorum, was the most dominant stand-out against these undertakings. He complimented Lyman for resisting the expenditure of Church funds on the railroad. He had expressed his own doubts about entering into the project during the January meeting about the railroad terminus. He also foreshadowed the policy he would adopt as Church president by expressing the hope to Grant "that the time was not far distant when the First Presidency, Apostles and Presidents of the Seventies would not have so much to do of a temporal nature so that they would have more time to attend to spiritual matters."²⁴

As a matter of fact, the timing of the railroad enterprise proved unfortunate in two ways. Congress delayed passing the enabling legislation for Utah statehood until the next summer, significant because the Church agents had tied statehood to their railroad promotions, which would also slow that effort. Second, the deepening financial depression completely prevented the sale of bonds necessary to finance the railroad's construction. On 15 February 1894, Cannon passed on a report from Trumbo and Clarkson to the First Presidency and Twelve that the parties who had agreed to furnish steel rails would do business only if some part of the purchase price could be in cash. Since the Church had no cash, Cannon declared the railroad arrangement with the lobbyists to be terminated. Trumbo and Clarkson later attributed their failure to fulfill their railroad contract to Congress's tardiness in agreeing to grant statehood.

When Congress finally passed the statehood enabling act in July 1894, the two lobbyists put together another proposal. But J. C. Osgood of Colorado stipulated that the railroad securities be discounted in a manner that, Church leaders complained, "would practically destroy the market value of the total issue" of railroad stock. Again Cannon found the proposal unacceptable.²⁵

10, 16 January 1894. Abram Cannon said of the free discussion about building the railroad to Los Angeles: "The spirit of the brethren was not one as to the proposed road as to this western point, but after some little talk, it was suggested that perhaps we could build to Coalville first, and then consider the advisability of going west."

²⁴Lyman, Journal, 28 December 1893; Grant, Journal, 11 January 1894.

²⁵Abraham H. Cannon, Journal, 15 February 1894. See also Edward

Previously, in early 1894, Cannon took a business trip to New York City where he heard disquieting reports that Clarkson and Trumbo had made sweeping promises, pledging the Church to supply stock in the Salt Lake and Los Angeles Railroad to various Congressmen. At the same time, an acquaintance introduced him to George A. Purbeck and Company, whom Abram Cannon termed "a very reliable firm of financial agents." Impressed with their first talks, Cannon "entered heartily into the [railroad promotion] project" with them. This agreement included, first, marketing Salt Lake and Los Angeles Railway bonds and later assuring capital for other endeavors as well. Best of all, there seemed to be no need for Church leaders to endorse the various company bonds. At that point, the total railroad stock issue was \$250,000, valued at \$300,000 including "non-participating" stock presumably held in LDS Church vaults in its own name.²⁶

This arrangement obviously replaced Trumbo's and Clarkson's financial services. Cannon carefully communicated these arrangements to Clarkson and Trumbo at each step of the new financial relationship, but their persistence in seeking a renewed contract compelled Church leaders to hold a difficult series of discussions airing the misunderstandings and finally settling several outstanding issues. Expecting Trumbo and Clarkson to secure terminal facilities in San Francisco and Los Angeles more effectively than anyone else, the First Presidency still hoped the lobbyists would remain involved in promoting the railroad but understood their dissatisfaction when the Purbeck company was receiving a 15 percent commission on the bonds it sold.²⁷

Leo Lyman, *Political Deliverance: The Mormon Quest for Utah Statehood* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1986), 232-54, for a discussion of this episode. Grant, Journal, 4 September 1894, reports a conversation between Grant and Brigham Young Jr., also an apostle, discussing their shared mistrust of Clarkson and Trumbo. If these views were shared with other members of the Twelve, the contract's termination would have been a relief.

²⁶Abraham H. Cannon, Journal, 15 February 1894; see also entry for 2 March 1894. This initial stock issue was not adequate to construct an 800-mile railroad to Los Angeles. George Q. Cannon, Letter to George A. Purbeck, 7 May 1894, "Financial Notes," 1, which outlines the preliminary details of the business arrangement.

²⁷Wilford Woodruff, George Q. Cannon, and Joseph F. Smith, Letter

However, the First Presidency had become increasingly dismayed over reports of financial obligations, particularly shares of railroad stock, that Trumbo and Clarkson had apparently promised key national political leaders to grease the skids for Utah statehood. George Q. Cannon, speaking for the presidency, protested to Clarkson: "Our plain method of considering what to us had seemed a plain relation does not permit us to plunge into an involvement like that." He expressed strong appreciation for "the political redemption of Utah" just delivered—meaning the passage of the enabling act—but lamented that, "except for the sustaining influence of the Holy Spirit, we must be overwhelmed by the hints of obligations incurred and pledges made in our behalf." He continued, "These debts are the more appalling because their extent is indefinite." Then complaining that while "veiled as [was] their scope," the letter justified the inference that they and their descendants might discover "all we have or may hope to have are mortgaged for all time to come."²⁸

Later the same year, Cannon received a letter from Morris M. Estee, another highly placed Republican functionary and friend of the Church living in Napa, California. He warned Church leaders about the seemingly vast extent of the financial obligations implied in the arrangements Trumbo and Clarkson had made. When Cannon responded in mid-December, he described his desire to relieve the economic depression in Utah and "maintain the hold which rightfully belongs to us in this country." He confessed that he and his associates had learned a good deal since making the initial arrangements with Trumbo and Clarkson and that "the learning has been a painful process." He then affirmed, "We have not however, wavered in our anxiety or determination to do everything in our power to accomplish the ends that we then had in view." Cannon still expressed hope "that the Lord will open the way for us to accomplish these ends in a more safe manner than that which was thus

to Frank J. Cannon and Nephi W. Clayton, 14 September 1894, Wilford Woodruff Papers, LDS Church Archives. These papers, which I saw in 1974, are not currently available to researchers.

²⁸George Q. Cannon, Letter to James S. Clarkson, 24 September 1894, Woodruff Papers.

proposed," while expressing relief that the Clarkson-Trumbo contract with its secret obligations had not been implemented.²⁹

It is clear from subsequent developments that Clarkson decided to sever his connection to Mormon economic development schemes, even though Church leaders, represented by Cannon, tried to engage his loyalty by attesting: "We believe that wealth and its attendant power would be nobly used by the man who volunteered the unlimited generosity of his service to an unpopular enfranchisement."³⁰ In late March 1895, Clarkson accepted a payoff from the Church of twenty promissory notes of five thousand dollars each which would commence maturing in 1899. When Clarkson decided not to wait and tried to sell them at a discount, Church agents (mainly Frank J. Cannon) complained that these bonds had been "hawked about in eastern financial houses in a manner that had become very injurious to [Church] credit."³¹ The Church apparently bought Clarkson's bonds back in two installments—\$25,000 in 1896 and \$60,000 in 1898—even though it could hardly afford such expenditures.³² This financial sacrifice was seemingly motivated by the desire to satisfy an important obligation incurred in connection with the crucial goal of achieving statehood for Utah without mortgaging the younger generation's future.

On 23 April 1894, with advice from Purbeck, the First Presidency and a few of their Church office secretaries incorporated a complex syndicate named the Utah Company for the express pur-

²⁹Wilford Woodruff, George Q. Cannon and Joseph F. Smith, Letter to Morris M. Estee, 18 December 1894, holograph, Woodruff Papers.

³⁰George Q. Cannon, Letter to James S. Clarkson, 24 September 1894, Woodruff Papers.

³¹Wilford Woodruff and Joseph F. Smith, Letter to Frank J. Cannon, 2 April 1898, Woodruff Papers; Woodruff, 9 October 1896, 9:429.

³²"Financial Notes," 46-48, 64-67. Later, in the spring of 1898, Clarkson accepted \$57,500, which, Frank Cannon stated, saved the Church \$25,000, presumably in interest. See Frank J. Cannon, Letter to First Presidency, First Presidency Political Letterbooks, Vol. 2, LDS Church Archives. Trumbo remained involved, hoping to become Utah's non-Mormon U.S. Senator. That prize went to Arthur Brown, while the Church paid Trumbo off for a few specific debts incurred. Edward Leo Lyman, "Isaac Trumbo and the Politics of Utah Statehood," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 41 (Spring 1973): 135-49; Bitton, *George Q. Cannon*, 349-52, 355-56.

poses of maintaining control over many of the resources of the Intermountain West and of enlisting the influence of powerful investors who might help protect the Church and its interests in future crises.³³ An associated purpose mentioned in the incorporation papers was to provide profitable employment to industrious Latter-day Saints idled by the devastating economic depression. Organized with a capital of \$10 million dollars, only partly subscribed, special provisions stipulated that the bulk of stock should remain in the corporate treasury for the expressed purpose "of purchasing other properties, stocks, bonds, contracts of construction and such other articles and things as the Utah Company may at any future time decide to purchase."³⁴ Both parties understood that, in addition to expert advice, the Purbeck company would promote bond sales at eastern financial centers. During the planning stages, Cannon must have been much gratified when Purbeck cautioned: "The greatest possible care should be taken that the stock given out by the company should not pass into hands unfriendly to the company, or the general interests of the Mormon people," although such goals were not to be enunciated beyond the confines of Utah.³⁵

The breadth and ambition exhibited by the Utah Company charter appears truly immense. The central enterprises to be initially consolidated under one corporate control included the Salt Lake and Los Angeles Railroad, Pioneer Electric Power Company, and the Utah Sugar Company. Moving beyond these already existing companies, it would then gather under the parent company such properties as "ore deposits, precious metals, asphalt beds, stone, clays, timber and forest enterprises." Specific interest focused on coal beds in both Summit and Iron Counties, the salt "gardens"

³³The seven original Utah Company directors and officers included Wilford Woodruff, George Q. Cannon, Joseph F. Smith, James Jack, William W. Cluff, Nephi W. Clayton, and Frank J. Cannon. When Frank Cannon resigned in January 1896 to take up his duties as U.S. Senator, Arthur Winter replaced him. Others involved in at least in the coal-mining enterprise included David McKenzie, L. John Nuttall, W. C. Spence, and George Reynolds. All but the presidency (Cluff, Clayton, and Frank Cannon) were employees at Church headquarters.

³⁴Drafts of Utah Company charter, "Financial Notes," 1-7.

³⁵George A. Purbeck, Letter to George Q. Cannon, 2 July 1894; "Financial Notes," 2.

adjacent to Great Salt Lake, the recently completed recreational facility, Saltair Pavilion, also at the famous lake, and the branch railroad lines to tie those ventures together.³⁶

Immediately after setting up the relationship with Purbeck and only weeks after terminating the railroad promotion arrangement with Trumbo and Clarkson, on 2 March 1894 many leading apostles met again in a business meeting with the First Presidency at their office on railroad matters. Purbeck had written suggesting that, in addition to extending a railroad line to the Summit County coal fields and acquiring the short line to Saltair on Great Salt Lake, the Church should also construct a "belt line" around Salt Lake City, procuring strategic terminal points and franchises within the city to enhance the value of the railroad enterprise.³⁷

At another such meeting four days later, during the lengthy discussion Apostles Grant and Snow expressed doubt about the Church's ability to secure enough money to carry out the project, including the longer line to Los Angeles. They expressed reservations about undertaking such extensive commitments at that time. Joseph F. Smith, Franklin D. Richards, and Abram Cannon advocated limiting the Utah Company's initial efforts to the Coalville branch line. Others expressed their willingness to back the railroad all the way to the coast. Abram Cannon recorded that the final decision was reached when his father said with great warmth and force "I prophesy in the name of the Lord, that if we will be united and go ahead with the work, we will succeed and be prospered."³⁸ Wilford Woodruff too affirmed his feelings that this was the correct course of action. The vote that followed was unanimous to prosecute the entire project with all dispatch. Still, some of those voting unanimously were probably relieved when sluggish bond sales essentially prevented progress on the longer railroad for several years.

Nevertheless, efforts continued to gather other enterprises under the corporate umbrella of the Utah Company. On 10 July 1894, Wilford Woodruff, as Trustee in Trust of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, acquired the Saltair Beach Company organized in 1891 to manage the popular resort pavilion on the shore of the

³⁶Drafts of Utah Company charter, "Financial Notes," 1-7.

³⁷A. H. Cannon, Journal, 2 March 1894.

³⁸*Ibid.*, 7 March 1894.

Great Salt Lake. The former owners apparently received as payment 2,800 shares of Church stock in Provo Woolen Mills, 3,700 shares of Zion's Cooperative Mercantile Institution stock, shares of several other Church-owned companies, and some cash, bringing the total to \$77,000. At least two of the earlier Saltair owners, Nephi W. Clayton and T. H. Snell, became part of the Utah Company's management. Clayton was one of its seven directors. Neither the resort nor the short line running from Salt Lake City to the lake proved immediately profitable. In 1897, the First Presidency temporarily leased the resort to a private group which, much to the chagrin of Heber J. Grant and some other General Authorities, opened it on Sundays, installed slot machines, and served liquor.³⁹

In the summer of 1894, the Utah Company acquired the Inter-mountain Salt Company, then owned by a large number of Salt Lake City individuals, paying for it with a similar package of other Church-owned stock and some cash.⁴⁰ In this case, the documents differentiate between the 156 shares Wilford Woodruff acquired as an individual stockholder, for which he paid \$12,680 (at \$81.28 apiece), and the 496 shares acquired in his name as Trustee in Trust for the Church for \$39,680 (at \$80 apiece). Presumably also acting as individuals, Joseph F. Smith purchased 156 shares and Cannon acquired 240 shares, paying \$19,200 (\$80 apiece). Church office treasurer L. John Nuttall, Frank J. Cannon, and Nephi Clayton (both Utah Company officials) and a half dozen other inside investors accounted for an additional 25,000 shares and bonds totaling \$200,000. The company aimed to harvest 40,000 tons of salt that season, and the enterprise soon proved moderately profitable.⁴¹

³⁹Arrington, *Great Basin Kingdom*, 392; Grant, Journal, 1 May 1897.

⁴⁰The leading predecessor company, Inland Salt, which merged into the new enterprise, had been headed by Church treasurer James Jack, indicating some previous Church interest and partial ownership.

⁴¹Arrington, *Great Basin Kingdom*, 391-93, 408; "Financial Notes," 20. According to testimony in the U. S. Senate, *Committee on Privileges and Elections, Proceedings . . . in the Matter of the Protests Against the Right of Hon. Reed Smoot, a Senator from the State of Utah, to Hold His Seat* (59th Cong. 1st sess., doc. 486), 4 vols. (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1904-07), 4:81-83, 246-49, 262-63, President Joseph F. Smith allegedly used undue Church influence during the period just after 1900 to suppress legitimate competition in the salt enterprise.

Utah Company promoters also took a keen interest in the coal and iron deposits of Iron County and the coal fields of Summit County, Utah. The Church already owned a coal mine on Grass Creek in Summit County and, upon recommendations from a respected expert, R. Forrester, decided to purchase a nearby coal mine that non-Mormon promoter and hotel owner Matthew Cullen had claimed in 1890. Working through local stake president and coal expert William W. Cluff, the Utah Company closed the purchase with Cullen, including improvements, for \$25,000 on 1 February 1894. Besides Forrester's favorable reports on the coal, company officials received an evaluation from James E. Talmage, a future apostle who was then a professor of science at the Church university in Salt Lake City, also attesting to the good quality of the coal. Over the next year, under Cluff's direction, several levels of both the Cullen and the Church mines were developed until they had a combined capacity of 200 tons per day, the amount they estimated that they could sell in the northern Utah coal yards that winter.

At the same crucial juncture Cluff also led investigations of the mining claims of Iron County. The Utah Company carefully considered the coal and iron holdings of several claimants. In late 1893, the Church had acquired the Jensen-Wood coal mines for \$30,000, despite the objection of several apostles. President Woodruff overcame the apostles' opposition by asserting that the purchase was the "Will of the Lord."⁴² Interest in the iron and coal deposits continued to be an important component of several railroad projects being promoted at the time, particularly the scheme of building a branch line of the still-feasible Salt Lake and Los Angeles Railroad into the mining region. But eventually these mining properties were sold to prevent further cash outlay.⁴³

Utah Company promoters also seriously considered the Deep

⁴²F. M. Lyman, Journal, 28, 29 December 1893; William W. Cluff, Letter to George Q. Cannon, 13 December 1895, in "Financial Notes," 16; R. Forrester, Letter to President and Directors, Utah Company, 23 September 1895, "Financial Notes," 11.

⁴³Lyman, Journal, 28, 29 December 1893. See also W. W. Cluff, Letter to George Q. Cannon, 23 July 1895, "Financial Notes," 16; W. W. Cluff report, 5 December 1893, "Financial Notes," 16-17; Woodruff's agreement with George Wood and Heber and John Jensen, 2 January 1894, "Financial Notes," 17-18; and Arrington, *Great Basin Kingdom*, 408.

Creek district in western Tooele County near the Nevada border, long known for its promising gold and silver deposits but lacking railroad transportation. A Utah Company subcommittee carefully considered the detailed reports from longtime area advocate Marcus E. Jones, a geology professor, and from Thomas Wier, a respected regional mine evaluator, who had also studied the Church mining holdings in southern Nevada.⁴⁴ Utah investors organized the Salt Lake and Pacific Railroad in March 1896 and dispatched survey crews into the Deep Creek area and also farther south through Osceola toward Pioche, then southeastern Nevada's two most promising mining areas, to locate railroad grades.

At least part of the motivation for this project was apparently to convince the Union Pacific Railroad's subsidiary, the Oregon Short Line, that the Mormon company was serious about railroad expansion westward, perhaps, on proper terms, in cooperation with Union Pacific. Nothing came of the matter at the time. However, 1897 saw major negotiation between the railroad and the Church; Joseph Bannigan, a later backer, also purchased railroad bonds. But the Church did not emerge as leader in these projects, although Cannon served for a time on the Union Pacific board of directors. Much later in 1904 and 1905, the Church cooperated with the Oregon Short Line and its parent Union Pacific in constructing what eventually became the San Pedro, Los Angeles and Salt Lake Railroad.⁴⁵

After a year of essentially unprofitable coal mining in Summit County, the Utah Company decided to construct a short railroad from its mines to the Park City branch of the Union Pacific some six miles away. Apparently Cluff had already projected such a road, organized as the Echo and Park City Railway Company, which had previously done some grading. The Utah Company would purchase used track for the small railroad from Union Pacific, paying in installments. The Union Pacific was also clearly involved in traffic-sharing arrangements to Salt Lake City; but there was probably no complete agreement on coal sales since the Union Pacific owned Wyoming mines whose coal was also marketed in Utah. The short

⁴⁴Marcus Jones, "Report on Deep Creek Railroad to Wilford Woodruff and Others," 13 October 1896, in "Financial Notes," 25-32; 3 June 1895, Woodruff, 9:354.

⁴⁵See Lyman, "City of Angels to the City of Saints," 79-86.

railroad was apparently financed mainly through Zion's Savings Bank and Trust at a cost of \$50,000.⁴⁶

Virtually all of these railroad and coal mining projects proved unprofitable and were eventually liquidated. However, during the 1890s, they remained integral components of the complex Utah Company undertaking. In his careful study of most Church economic endeavors, Leonard J. Arrington concluded that the Church spent at least \$100,000 on the exploratory phases of these projects. Property purchases would make this figure considerably higher. However, within a year, after the summer of 1894, it became painfully obvious that the continuing depression had thwarted the efforts of Purbeck-Utah Company eastern agents to obtain the financing necessary for carrying these enterprises to fruition. In the intervening period, Woodruff and his counselors kept on borrowing to prevent delayed development on the great enterprise's key components. Still, the Church's own economic burdens were so great it could not continue this undertaking without major external support. On 25 June 1895, the Utah Company directors terminated the relationship with Purbeck. In mid-September 1896, Cannon stated that the Utah Company had not been able to carry out its objectives because the depression made it impossible to sell the company's securities. He therefore moved to disincorporate the Utah Company and return the component properties and funds to their original owners.⁴⁷

At that time the irrepressible George Q. Cannon reported to the Twelve, according to Heber J. Grant, that "prospects had never been so bright financially for us as they were at the present time." He believed doors were being opened so that the "interests of the Saints could be accomplished." Two months later Cannon again told the Twelve that he "had unbounded faith that there were very good times coming to the Latter-day Saints in financial matters."⁴⁸ Although Grant quoted these statements, he admitted that he and

⁴⁶"Indenture," 20 February 1895, William W. Cluff sale to Wilford Woodruff, Trustee in Trust, in "Financial Notes," 12; Nephi W. Clayton, Letter to George Q. Cannon, 17-18 October 1895, *ibid.*, 18-19.

⁴⁷Arrington, *Great Basin Kingdom*, 394-95; "Financial Notes," 25 June 1895, 15-16 and September 1896, "Financial Notes," 12-13, 19, including the disincorporation meeting for Utah Company, 16 September 1896.

⁴⁸Grant, Journal, 20 December 1894, 8 February 1895.

others less initiated into Cannon's recovery plan were more skeptical that prospects were so propitious.

Mormon authorities were certainly disappointed that neither the Clarkson-Trumbo association of 1893 nor the Purbeck-Utah Company venture of 1894 could sell the securities necessary to relieve Church officials from its worries and preoccupations with business affairs. In fact, the debts and attempts to alleviate regional economic woes were exhausting to Wilford Woodruff and sometimes his counselors.⁴⁹ After Purbeck's last attempt to sell bonds failed, Frank J. Cannon, acting as agent for the Utah Company, bought back the entire \$400,000 issue of sugar company bonds for a discounted \$325,000 in late 1895. At this point Frank met Joseph Bannigan, the so-called "rubber king" of Providence, Rhode Island,⁵⁰ and successfully negotiated with him to purchase the entire issue of sugar stock for \$360,000, thus enabling the company to fund its other debts. Arrington concludes that this sale "marked the turning point in the financial standing of the sugar company. Thereafter, it was able to meet all its outstanding accounts." In 1896, it commenced paying dividends, eventually assisting the Church financially.⁵¹

Soon after, Bannigan offered to invest \$1.2 million in the Ogden electric power and irrigation company as well. As corroboration that George Q. Cannon was the Church's leading instigator and strategist for economic undertakings, Woodruff told some of the Twelve on 26 November 1895 that President Joseph F. Smith and the apostles "could not decide until President Cannon returned home from the irrigation congress" at Omaha whether to accept the

⁴⁹Edward Leo Lyman, "Wilford Woodruff's Financial Exhaustion: An Explanation for Not Further Developing the Sterling Mine," Paper delivered at Mining History Conference, Tonopah, Nevada, 2 June 2000.

⁵⁰William R. Cutter, *New England Families: Genealogical and Memorial*, Third Series, 2 vols. (New York: n.pub., 1915), 2:994-97.

⁵¹Frank J. Cannon and Harvey J. O'Higgins, *Under the Prophet in Utah* (Boston, Mass.: C. M. Clark Publishing, 1911), 141; Arrington, *Great Basin Kingdom*, 390-91; Frank J. Cannon, Letter to James Jack, 30 July 1895; Frank J. Cannon, Letters to Wilford Woodruff, George Q. Cannon, and Joseph F. Smith, 30 July 1895, 31 July 1895, 26 July 1896; Frank J. Cannon, Letter to G. Q. Cannon, 7 October 1895; all in "Financial Notes," 10, 41-42.

admittedly attractive Bannigan offer.⁵² After Cannon's return, Church officials willingly concluded the new loan.

Bannigan visited Utah in late February 1896 and seemed to have attended meetings at which Pioneer Electric was capitalized at \$2 million. His advice clearly influenced the form the corporate financial structure took, including the capitalization amount, based on his careful projections of construction costs, interest, and depreciation expenses. He also recommended a sinking fund account, then common, for the purpose of paying off the bonds "at easy stages."⁵³ The company issued 1,500 gold bonds with a face value of \$1,000 each, bearing 6 percent interest. Bannigan took the entire block of bonds, which were to mature at four-year intervals through 1916. Although not reflected in the documents available, subsequent developments indicate that the original agreements stipulated that Church leaders and their Utah associates could regain full control of the company by paying off the indebtedness as soon as they were financially able to do so.⁵⁴ With great relief, Woodruff recorded that the Ogden project "will be one of the most important improvements in the state."⁵⁵

In early March, the Rhode Island businessman then visited Ogden with George Q. Cannon, president of the company, to examine the project sites. Since the bonds were "unconditionally and absolutely guaranteed" by the Church through its leaders, Cannon and Woodruff remained deeply involved in company management. Bannigan, too, stayed in close touch with company progress, visiting Ogden again in late July. Earlier in their association the eastern lender affirmed complete trust in the integrity of the Church leaders and the enterprise of their people. When the First Presidency re-

⁵²Woodruff, 9:377.

⁵³A sinking fund is an account into which periodic payments are made sufficient to discharge a liability. Such an arrangement may assure investors that the stock issues are safer than bonds for which repayment may be in a lump sum.

⁵⁴Loan Document, Wilford Woodruff, Trustee in Trust, guaranteed payment of the principal and interest to Joseph Bannigan, 2 March 1896, in "Financial Notes," 31-41; 26 February and 3, 4, 23 March 1896, Woodruff, 9: 392-93, 396. It appears that Bannigan loaned a larger sum than he initially offered.

⁵⁵3, 4 March 1896, Woodruff 9:392-93.

ceived reports that Bannigan's legal disputes with his former rubber company might prevent completion of his loan payments to them, he telegraphed reassuringly: "Have no fear Bannigan is all right & on top." Woodruff recorded the text of the telegram and commented: "Those are our feelings concerning him"—that he was on top.⁵⁶

Although Bannigan died less than three years later, the massive enterprises he underwrote during this crucial stage of Utah economic development essentially assured the success of the sugar and electric power companies—certainly the most outstanding ventures of the era—and also helped tide over the projected railroad to the Pacific through its crisis years. It is amazing that a man so pivotal in the process of Utah's crucial financial growth has remained virtually unknown for more than a century after his service to the infant state. Woodruff once described Purbeck as being raised up by the Lord to assist Utah and the Church in their "temporal deliverance,"⁵⁷ but Joseph Bannigan actually came closer to fulfilling that role as the economic savior of the region.

The power plant was completed in 1897, followed by the power transmission line to Salt Lake City. Both were major engineering achievements. Pioneer Electric company merged with other companies, including Big Cottonwood Power Company, to become Union Light and Power Company in August 1897, incorporated with a capitalization of \$4,550,000, of which the First Presidency held at least 18,295 shares. Eastern investors owned 15,977 shares, but persons and companies friendly to Church interests controlled the remainder, making a majority favorable to the Latter-day Saints. Based on the clear assets of the component entities, the new corporation issued \$2,255,000 in consolidated mortgage bonds, sold partly to English capitalists, plus an additional \$1.5 million in first-mortgage bonds to exchange for Pioneer Electric bonds still held by Bannigan's heirs.⁵⁸ Church leaders certainly encouraged all of these transactions because it relieved some immediate pressure for payments on the original loan.

Another complex reorganization took place in June 1899,

⁵⁶Arrington, *Great Basin Kingdom*, 395; 20 May and 12 August 1896, Woodruff 9:417.

⁵⁷17 May 1894, Woodruff 8:301.

⁵⁸Arrington, *Great Basin Kingdom*, 396-99.

through which the outstanding bonded debt was scaled down from \$4.5 million to \$3 million. The Church still controlled the majority of stock, although the eastern and English parties apparently held a preponderance of the preferred stock. Just weeks after this organization and renaming of the company as Utah Light and Power Company, George Q. Cannon hurried east to negotiate with John Bannigan, executor of his father's estate. Representing both the Church debtors and the power company, Cannon worked out a refinance agreement that entailed an immediate cash payment of \$25,000 and a secured note of \$200,000 payable at 5 percent interest with like additional annual payments. In his subsequent memorandum of the transaction, Cannon expressed relief at the power company officials' confidence that they could meet this continuing obligation and, even more, that the Church thereby received "release from the guarantee of 1 million" dollars hanging over them for the previous four years. At about that same time, the Utah parties paid what appears to be the accumulated interest totaling \$180,000 on the several old Bannigan loans, in exchange for which they apparently obtained the release of a large block of preferred stock that the Bannigans had apparently held as collateral, thus further assuring the Church "control of the company."⁵⁹

Similarly, by July 1898, the only Church involvement in the sugar enterprise consisted of receiving dividends derived from its 8,520 shares of stock, then valued at \$85,200. When the Utah-based company consolidated with others in the region to become Utah-Idaho Sugar Company, Church leaders not only approved but reportedly promoted the reorganization.⁶⁰ Although Frank J. Cannon, by then an embittered apostate, in a book published in 1911 accused Joseph F. Smith, who had become Church president in October 1901, of "selling out" the sugar company to the sugar trust, the

⁵⁹Memorandum of Result of Union Light-Bannigan Deal as reported by Pres. Cannon, 5 July 1899, in "Financial Notes," 31-35; Arrington, *Great Basin Kingdom*, 390-99, who also worked with less than full access to Church financial documents, concluded that the \$180,000 was entirely from bonds the power company was unable to pay. However, a more plausible explanation is that the sum represented accumulated interest on more than three years of Bannigan loans to the Church.

⁶⁰Arrington, *Great Basin Kingdom*, 391, 407-8.

Church continued to own a large proportion of Utah-Idaho Sugar Company stock for at least half of the ensuing century.⁶¹

George Q. Cannon was probably the most accomplished and versatile Mormon leader of his generation. On his seventieth birthday in early 1897, Woodruff described him as smart, well preserved and able "to do much work."⁶² He lost the first Utah U.S. Senate seat in early 1896 only because of an ill-advised comment in general priesthood meeting by President Joseph F. Smith.⁶³ In fact, even within the confines of his Church position, his statesmanship was still conspicuous. As president of a national irrigation congress in 1894, he had been treated with the respect and deference due a great regional leader. He was even more the mastermind for the Utah statehood effort than for the regional plan for economic development.⁶⁴

In 1895, as Union Pacific and other railroad officials sought his favor, partly because of Utah's crucial geographic position for projected transcontinental lines, Heber J. Grant, though sometimes Cannon's critic, expressed delight at "the respect shown to Prest. Cannon and the other members of his party" as they were lavishly hosted by St. Louis civic leaders. The next year, Union Pacific offered Cannon a position on its board of directors, where he served for several years. I would argue that, next to Joseph Smith and Brigham Young, Cannon was the most influential Latter-day Saint leader of the nineteenth century.⁶⁵

⁶¹Cannon and O'Higgins, *Under the Prophet in Utah*, 367. According to Arrington, *Great Basin Kingdom*, 391, 407-8, Church interests maintained control of the company even during the era of national sugar trust power around 1906, with all of the officers and directors remaining Utah men.

⁶²15 October 1896, 11 January 1897, Woodruff, 9:429, 443.

⁶³Lyman, *Political Deliverance*, 269-71.

⁶⁴*Ibid.*, 130-36, 167-69, 173, 185-86.

⁶⁵Thomas G. Alexander, *Things in Heaven and Earth: The Life and Times of Wilford Woodruff, a Mormon Prophet* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1991), 331, ranks Wilford Woodruff third in importance, crediting him with leading "the Latter-day Saints to come to terms with the separation of the temporal and spiritual and to acceptance and respectability." He also challenges my ranking (*Political Deliverance*, 424 note 63). I would counter that, if Woodruff actually merits third place it is because George Q. Cannon led Woodruff into most of the actions with which Alexander credits him.

On the other hand, partly because of Cannon's notorious impatience with dissent from other members of the Mormon hierarchy and partly because of his willingness to overlook the abundant human frailties of Frank J. Cannon, much in evidence to other Church authorities, he opened himself to rather severe criticism from his colleagues. His situation was unique, partly because he was chief—some would say dominant—advisor for so long to two aged Church presidents, John Taylor and Wilford Woodruff. As a result, he was subject to two different extended quorum criticism sessions after their regimes ended, when he was neither a sinner nor an apostate, but was simply seeking to effectively fulfill his Church callings as he understood them. It is noteworthy that among his critics on the second occasion were the next three presidents of the Church, Lorenzo Snow, Joseph F. Smith and Heber J. Grant. Grant held the dubious distinction of being a leading critic on both occasions. After the death of John Taylor in July 1887, he confided his conflicted feelings to his diary. After recording Cannon's statement that "for four months he had virtually been president of the Church," Grant added:

The brethren one and all as near as I could judge did not approve of the course of President Cannon, but they felt to forgive and sustain him. If a person's position is not a correct one, I can't see any need of forgiving the party so long as he feels that he has done right. I am almost ashamed of myself that I did not stand out until I was satisfied and yet I do not wish to be prejudiced against anyone or lack in mercy. I have not perfect confidence in Prest. Cannon and I regret it more than words of mine can tell. I wish to God my Heavenly Father that I had the same confidence in Prest. Cannon that I have in Joseph F. Smith, Wilford Woodruff and others of my brethren.

However, Grant was clearly not motivated by malice, also recording humbly: "I feel condemned however for much of my feelings against brother Cannon," adding that he was "sure that I am not

Bitton, *George Q. Cannon*, dust jacket, front flap, states: "Aside from the founding prophet, Joseph Smith, and Brigham Young, no one surpassed Cannon as a leader, shaper, and defender of nineteenth-century Mormonism." See also Grant, *Journal*, 20 May 1895; 15 October 1896, 11 January 1897, Woodruff 9:429, 443.

charitable enough" and promising to "pray earnestly to God for assistance."⁶⁶

In the second case, the decade-long resentments toward George Q. Cannon by other members of the highest two quorums of Church leadership surfaced in December 1897 when President Joseph F. Smith divulged to Heber J. Grant that Cannon blamed the latter for the \$50,000 penalty related to the old John W. Young debt that the Church had had to bear when obtaining the quarter-million dollar loan primarily for the sugar factory in 1893. Offended, Grant in turn confessed he "did not have the confidence in President Cannon's financial methods" he would have liked, a confidence that was diminished further when Smith revealed other aspects of recent unnamed transactions. Grant soon discovered other colleagues who held similar opinions and "feelings of distrust in regard to the way President Cannon was managing the financial affairs of the Church through his son Frank." Grant went so far as to allege that Cannon was sometimes "putting words into the mouth of President Woodruff."⁶⁷ It is clear that Joseph F. Smith felt that he had been left out of many Woodruff-Cannon economic policy-strategy discussions and he later publicly complained of that fact soon after he became the new head of the Church in 1901.⁶⁸

These private conversations led to a full discussion at a two-day apostles' meeting less than two weeks later. Apostles George Teasdale, John W. Taylor, and Abraham O. Woodruff did not participate much in the discussion; Francis M. Lyman and Anthon H. Lund were not in attendance. Moses Thatcher had been dropped from the Quorum on 19 November 1896 for his intransigence in

⁶⁶Grant, Journal, 7 July, 3 and 4 August 1887, 13, 18 September and 5, 6 October 1887. See also Edward Leo Lyman, "The Alienation of an Apostle from his Quorum: The Moses Thatcher Case," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 18 (Summer 1985): 69-71; reprinted in John Sillito and Susan Staker, eds., *Mormon Mavericks: Essays on Dissenters* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 2002), 161-63.

⁶⁷Grant, Journal, 22, 23 December 1897.

⁶⁸D. Michael Quinn, *The Mormon Hierarchy: Extensions of Power*, 23-24, cites J. Golden Kimball, Diary, 10 November 1901, LDS Church Archives. According to Kimball, the fact that President Smith would "publicly arraign and criticize men that are his superiors in every way is to me a great mistake."

political matters, and was not replaced for some time. According to Heber J. Grant's journal, the most complete account of this discussion, Lorenzo Snow, president of the Quorum, affirmed that, in the interests of unity in the highest quorums of Church leadership, concessions might be necessary. According to Heber J. Grant, Snow acknowledged Woodruff's "advanced age" and the fact that "we could not approve of" some of Cannon's actions. However, Snow continued: "This makes no difference as it is our duty to sustain him. The loss of \$100,000 more or less is as nothing in comparison with our failing to sustain the First Presidency. "Somewhat disconcertingly, Snow's chief argument for presenting a united front was primarily public relations: "Disunion in our midst would be a sweet morsel for our enemies." He affirmed that "it is the right of the twelve apostles[,] . . . it is our duty to express our feelings" to the First Presidency on "any matter of importance where the interest of the church is at stake." But after having expressed those feelings, "It is our duty to sustain the presidency in their plans[—] . . . hit or miss, live or die." Snow concluded: "The Lord does not always select religious men to do His work, but he selects men of strong will and determination. I feel it in my bones that all will be well if we will be true to one [an]other and sustain the First Presidency."⁶⁹

Apostle John Henry Smith commented that Joseph F. Smith, his kinsman (their fathers were first cousins), was a "plain and blunt man" less able to conceive and carry out large plans than the talented George Q. Cannon. There is, he said, "perhaps no man among us who is as gifted as he." He asserted, Cannon was "at present dominating the affairs of the Church."⁷⁰ John Henry Smith rhetorically asked whether Woodruff, on his own, would have borrowed so much money for either the Ogden power project, Saltair, or the ill-fated Nevada Sterling mine, then answered: "We all know that he would not have done these things."⁷¹ Smith speculated that President Cannon had incurred massive financial burdens for the Church that may

⁶⁹Quoted in Grant, Journal, 4 January 1898.

⁷⁰Quoted in *ibid.*, 4-5 January 1898.

⁷¹Leonard J. Arrington and Edward Leo Lyman, "The Mormon Church and Nevada Gold Mines," *Nevada Historical Society Quarterly*, Fall 1998, 191-205; reprinted *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 35 (Summer 2002): 73-87.

have induced him to “become desperate and his plunging, so to speak.”

Several apostles expressed strong resentment about the prominence of Frank J. Cannon in Mormon financial affairs. His abundant sexual indiscretions were well known. And Brigham Young Jr., the next to speak, described Frank as “a drunkard representing the Church in the east” and hoped the Twelve would appeal to the First Presidency to “correct these mistakes.” He agreed with John Henry Smith that Woodruff depended on President Cannon in all financial matters. Then Young correctly pointed out that, since the apostles would have responsibility for these affairs should the First Presidency be dissolved through the death of the aging Woodruff, they deserved to be better informed, if not more involved, concerning those matters. He added significantly: “If the Prest. were to pass away we would humiliate Prest. Cannon into the dust by demanding that things be changed and he felt that the proper thing was to have the Presidency change the present men, and not put a change off until the death of Prest. Woodruff.” Young was primarily suggesting Frank’s dismissal, but he was probably also advocating George Q. Cannon’s removal from economic control of the Church as well.⁷²

Franklin D. Richards defended Frank: As U.S. Senator, he had the respect of “men in the world. . . . It may be in the providences of the Lord that he can do more for the Church financially than any one of us can do.” Richards also tried to understand matters from George Q. Cannon’s perspective. He acknowledged that Cannon, during deliberations about building the Los Angeles railroad, “was annoyed at our not being willing to approve of his scheme, and this may be one reason he does not care to bring matters to our attention, as he fears we will not approve of them.”⁷³

To the open discussion, Grant contributed his wish for the Quorum to share the First Presidency’s financial burdens, hoping thereby to prolong Woodruff’s life. Privately to his journal, he confessed: “With all my heart I hope and pray that I may not be guilty of accusing my brother again,” as he conceded that he had done after Taylor’s death in 1887.⁷⁴ Still, he felt relieved that so many of

⁷²Quoted in Grant, *Journal*, 4 January 1898.

⁷³*Ibid.*

⁷⁴*Ibid.*

his fellow quorum members expressed similar discomfort with the situation.⁷⁵

When the meeting concluded on the second day, Marriner W. Merrill stated that he never condoned the Church going into debt, recalling that the administrations of Brigham Young or John Taylor had avoided debt. He pointedly warned that if Church members learned that tithing funds were being used to pay interest on debts, many would stop paying tithing. Merrill likewise saw Cannon as “virtually head of the Church” with Woodruff “lean[ing] on him in all matters.”⁷⁶

Snow, in a concluding statement after the long discussion, observed that Cannon was well aware of his (Snow's) disapproval “of his methods of running into debt,” especially since nearly all of his schemes had been failures. The future LDS president then stated his belief that “the Lord did not approve of our running into debt personally or for the church”—presumably even for the benefit of the Church. Snow agreed that the First Presidency should share more information on financial matters with the apostles. Grant then recorded: In the subsequent “considerable informal chat,” some apostles questioned whether it was proper for Frank and George Q. to receive high salaries as officers in the Pioneer Power Company.⁷⁷

As Woodruff's diary makes plain, he fully supported the projects Cannon had initiated; but apparently he failed either to fully endorse these projects publicly or express his appreciation for Cannon to the Twelve, who thus saw Woodruff as something of Cannon's puppet, too much under Cannon's domination to trust on economic matters. The entire two-day discussion solidified doubts about Cannon's financial management.⁷⁸

Was Snow correct? Were nearly all of Cannon's economic strategies failures? Not completely. Technically it is correct that the salt works and Saltair resort never generated much revenue for the

⁷⁵Ibid. Grant's objections to Cannon in 1887 had centered on his handling of the Bullion Beck consecrated stock funds.

⁷⁶Ibid., 5 January 1898. Junior apostles George Teasdale, John W. Taylor, and Abraham O. Woodruff, scheduled to speak on the second day, had little or nothing to say that Grant recorded. Francis M. Lyman and Anthon H. Lund were apparently absent.

⁷⁷Ibid.

⁷⁸Ibid., 4-5 January 1898.

Church, while the coal mines were clearly losing propositions. The most profitable of the railroad ventures was the San Pedro, Los Angeles, and Salt Lake Railroad, but it was not completed until 1905, largely through the leadership of non-Mormon William Andrews Clark of Montana, albeit with Latter-day Saint cooperation. The Church held profitable stock in that venture. Yet the Pioneer Electric Company (and its successors) was a truly outstanding example of technological and financial success visible throughout the West, making consistent profits for the Church and individual stockholders. And the magnitude of the sugar enterprise, both in the 1890s and in the long run, is equally impressive, especially since the Depression of 1893 that had precipitated the Church's decision to promote regional businesses, continued for five years. The sugar project helped hundreds of intermountain farmers grow a cash crop with good potential for annual profits. More abstractly, it also symbolized Brigham Young's long-sought regional self-sufficiency.⁷⁹

In September 1898, Woodruff died in San Francisco. With the First Presidency thus dissolved, the apostles assumed responsibility for the Church's presumed insolvency. George Q. Cannon and Joseph F. Smith resumed their positions in the Quorum; but Lorenzo Snow, the new president, unlike his predecessors, reorganized the First Presidency almost immediately and called both men as his counselors. Cannon, who well understood Snow's disagreements with his financial policy, was surprised.⁸⁰

Just before Woodruff's death, the First Presidency and seven of the apostles met to consider consolidating and funding the entire remaining Church debt by authorizing Frank J. Cannon to raise bonds for \$1.5 million if he could do so at 5 percent interest. Grant favored purchase by home investors, and several others agreed with him.⁸¹ There was precedent for this, since Woodruff had recently

⁷⁹Arrington, *Great Basin Kingdom*, 390-99.

⁸⁰Bitton, *George Q. Cannon*, 423.

⁸¹Journal History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (chronology of typed entries and newspaper clippings, 1830-present), 29 July 1898, 3, LDS Church Archives; notarized statement, 29 July 1898, signed by Wilford Woodruff, as Trustee in Trust for the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, and Wilford Woodruff, George Q. Cannon, and Joseph F. Smith, as the First Presidency of said Church authorizing Frank J. Cannon to negotiate a loan for one million five hundred thousand dollars

borrowed \$179,000 from Zion's Savings Bank and Trust, using power company bonds as collateral.⁸² But all eventually conceded that, since local banks were then lending money at 8 percent it was not likely that 5 percent bonds would sell readily in the same area. In another economic crisis there might not be sufficient regional investors to purchase the full issue. Besides, Utah bonds would presumably be taxable. Frank Cannon stated that his contacts at the nation's financial centers wanted the entire block of securities and would not be satisfied with a mere portion. His perspective won out.⁸³

If Frank Cannon ever secured the market for the bonds, he claimed to have established, the situation changed, perhaps partly because of the general lack of understanding in the financial centers of the East that the position of trustee-in-trust of the Church remained intact even though Woodruff had died on 2 September 1890. Cannon's eastern contacts proposed to form a syndicate to float the bonds—basically creating an eastern sales company. But he replied that the highest Church leaders, mainly the First Presidency, would object, probably because they did not see the need for more middle men as the national economy finally showed indications of recovery.⁸⁴ In November 1898, after not hearing from Frank Cannon for two months, Snow concluded in a meeting of the apostles that carried over for three days, that Frank had failed to make the sale. He pointed out the need to meet at least current obligations and reiterated his earlier position that he believed God would be more pleased if they only raised the amount absolutely necessary. He also argued that it would be better to secure the funds from among Church members and other western friends than to go "into the world."⁸⁵

In the second day's meeting, an unidentified speaker finally

on sold lands to be issued by the presidency, Wilford Woodruff Papers.

⁸²Loan document, 6 June 1898, signed by Wilford Woodruff as trustee in trust, Woodruff Papers.

⁸³According to Frank J. Cannon, Letter to Woodruff, George Q. Cannon and Joseph F. Smith, 17-18 August 1898, the younger Cannon made preliminary negotiations with railroad tycoon Edward H. Harriman.

⁸⁴Frank J. Cannon, Letter to Wilford Woodruff, George Q. Cannon, and Joseph F. Smith, 18 August 1898, Woodruff Papers.

⁸⁵Journal History, 13 September and 22 November 1898.

asked George Q. Cannon how much the Church owed. He gave the figure of \$1.5 million, adding that he assumed the Church assets, including real estate, would then amount to over \$3 million. According to the minutes, Snow "remarked that this was the first time he heard of the extent of the indebtedness of the Church."⁸⁶ Despite the subdued language, it is doubtful that either Snow or the other apostles felt anything but dismay at this news. Driven by financial necessity, they voted to issue three series of bonds for \$500,000 each at 6 percent interest to mature in eleven years but redeemable in six years. At the same time the Church leaders instituted a sinking fund through which at least \$25,000 would be set aside annually to pay off these debts.⁸⁷ Cannon moved to double this sinking fund to \$50,000. Joseph F. Smith seconded the motion, and some others indicated assent. Cannon affirmed the Church was "abundantly able to put by a fund of twice that amount." But President Snow, still agitated, "feelingly" spoke about the "condition of the Church financially and said nothing short of 'Aid from God' will cause us to get out of the financial swamp in which we are at the present time."⁸⁸

At some point on the second or third day, according to John Henry Smith, "President Lorenzo Snow did take Bro. Geo. Q. Cannon to task for [the] over hopeful manner in which he had spoken of our financial Condition."⁸⁹ With the Church leaders' "understandable alarm over the financial perils of the Church," as Davis Bitton has observed, "it was easy for some to hold Cannon responsible."⁹⁰ Although such blame seems unfair, or at least oversimplified, Cannon had clearly brought much of the mistrust on himself by so often, except for Woodruff's assent, initiating the transactions for which his associates now criticized him and held him solely responsible. Snow had no experience with finance on such a high level and did not want the Church to be a financial player at that level but now was head of the Church, which made it impossible for him to

⁸⁶Ibid., 22 and 23 November 1898.

⁸⁷Ibid.

⁸⁸Ibid., 22-23 November 1898; Grant, *Journal*, 30 November, 1 December 1898, for Snow's statement and sinking fund proposal.

⁸⁹Jean Bickmore White, ed., *Church, State, and Politics: The Diaries of John Henry Smith* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1990), 414.

⁹⁰Bitton, *George Q. Cannon*, 420. See also Quinn, *Extensions of Power*, 23.

escape those obligations. Cannon, who did have such expertise, had studied the situation long and carefully, but was discredited, stripped of power, and openly rebuked.

Just three days after this meeting, Grant wrote in his diary that Snow had showed him "the list of assets of the Church. Grant expressed surprise to find so high an estimated value placed on them, presumably by George Q. Cannon."⁹¹ Yet with the wisdom of hindsight, it can be argued that these holdings were soon far more valuable than their list price, eventually forming the basis for the Church's extensive financial holdings of later years.

Chief among them loom Cannon's two most outstanding Church enterprises, the electric and the sugar companies. As the Church made sufficient payments to the Bannigan interests to be released from earlier obligations to guarantee the value of the old Pioneer Electric stock up to \$1.5 million, Bannigan returned its collateral of 658,500 shares of preferred power and light stock, and more significantly, "control of the company."⁹² The Church apparently transferred a substantial amount of Utah Light and Railway Company stock to Edward H. Harriman, president of Union Pacific Railroad, perhaps partly in exchange for Union Pacific stock.⁹³ Still, almost a century later, according to the Annual Report of Utah Power & Light to the Federal Energy Regulatory Commission, at the end of 1980 the Church was its fourth largest stockholder with 342,172 shares.⁹⁴

The second enterprise, Utah and Idaho Sugar Company, shows an equal record of success. By early in the twentieth century, the Church owned at least half a million dollars worth of its stock. In

⁹¹Grant, Journal, 3 December 1898.

⁹²Collateral transferral documents, 30 June 1899, 28 November 1900, in "Financial Notes," 32.

⁹³According to Arrington, *Great Basin Kingdom*, 408, Utah Light and Railway Company was organized in 1904; the Church sold its share to Harriman for an apparent profit of \$3 million. The company eventually became part of Utah Power and Light Company.

⁹⁴Quoted in John Heinerman and Anson Shupe, *The Mormon Corporate Empire* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1985), 109. Arrington, *Great Basin Kingdom*, 395-99, 408, discusses the consolidation of Mormon- and Gentile-controlled companies in both Weber and Salt Lake counties into Union Light and Power Company, incorporated 9 August 1897.

1957, when U&I Sugar was worth about \$20 million, the Church owned 80 percent of the company's preferred stock and about half the common stock. Thus, even during Snow's presidency, the Church's investment in these two companies probably surpassed its total indebtedness.⁹⁵ After changes in the sugar tariffs in 1974, the company diversified into corporate farming and, in about 1980, divested itself of most, if not all, company stock, although it still owned much valuable real estate formerly used for raising beets and manufacturing sugar.⁹⁶

In a letter to the *Deseret News* published in mid-December 1898, President Snow explained the need to raise money by selling a bond issue, erroneously blaming the government's confiscation of Church property for the entire debt. Even without specific security, the first issue released 1 January 1899 sold within a few weeks and the second, offered days later, was also purchased by Mormons and Mormon financial institutions within the year. Improving financial conditions for the Church and the nation made a third issue unnecessary. Half of the existing debt was redeemed by 1903 and the remainder within four more years.⁹⁷ It is doubtless true that Snow's famous "windows of heaven" tour, urging Latter-day Saints to pay a full tithe, also helped retire the Church's debt.

Still, the situation was already well on its way to resolution prior to Woodruff's death thanks to George Q. Cannon's debt-funding strategy. The tragedy of Cannon's last years of relative ignominy was that he might have received due credit for his impressive economic achievement if Woodruff had lived to see the refinancing program fully instituted. Instead, Lorenzo Snow, Joseph F. Smith, and Heber J. Grant essentially molded Church opinion on such subjects for the next half century. Consequently, Cannon received no recognition for this aspect of his mission, either then or later.⁹⁸ Cannon's repu-

⁹⁵Arrington, *Great Basin Kingdom*, 408. Proving this statement conclusively would require access to relevant First Presidency financial documents, now closed to researchers.

⁹⁶Frederick M. Huchel, *A History of Box Elder County* (Salt Lake City: Utah State Historical Society/Box Elder County Commission, 1999), 228-29.

⁹⁷Arrington, *Great Basin Kingdom*, 402-3; Journal History, 23 November 1898; Lorenzo Snow, *Deseret Evening News*, 15 December 1898.

⁹⁸Davis Bitton discusses virtually no economic aspects of Cannon's

tation suffered further from the misbehavior of Frank J. Cannon, who, Grant reported on 5 January 1899, was drunk and frequenting a brothel. Frank also switched political allegiance from Republican to Democrat-Populist, which made him increasingly unpopular in Utah. Neither party renominated him after his first term, essentially ending his political career. In February, he delivered a "vile attack" verbally on Mormon Republican apostles John Henry Smith and Heber J. Grant. Grant hoped that President Cannon would apologize in behalf of his reckless son and was disappointed when the marginalized counselor did not.⁹⁹

In early spring 1899, Snow again felt constrained, according to Brigham Young Jr.'s diary, to reiterate "his dissatisfaction with [Geo. Q.] Cannon's handling of Church monies."¹⁰⁰ Georgius Young Cannon, another of George Q.'s sons, later commented on "the enmity of Pres. Snow," and said he had accused George Q. Cannon "of being the cause of the Church's financial difficulties."¹⁰¹ According to Frank Cannon, at his father's funeral in late April 1901, Snow had his son, Leroy, read an official statement in which Snow denied that his first counselor "had dictated the recent policies of the church."¹⁰² This note was certainly a sadly negative one on which to end the career of such a significant and productive servant to four successive LDS presidents, the Church, and Utah as a whole.

Cannon's biographer Davis Bitton concluded: "In many ways George Q. Cannon may seem old-fashioned today and must have seemed so to some of his contemporaries. Defending the old ways against the incursions of modernization, he looked back nostalgically on the period in Utah before the outside world intruded to

career in his prizewinning recent biography, no doubt because of length restrictions imposed by his publisher.

⁹⁹Grant, Journal, 5 January and 10, 12, 13 February 1899.

¹⁰⁰Brigham Young Jr., Diary, 21 April 1899; Quinn, *Extensions of Power*, 23, 419. See also Young, Diary, 10 January 1899: "Understand Presidency has appointed an auditing committee to thoroughly investigate the Church indebtedness. I know this will be grievous to Pres. George Q. Cannon. On 20 January, Young expressed sympathy for Cannon's physically frail condition and praised him: His "labors are far ahead of any other man in the Church."

¹⁰¹Quinn, *Extensions of Power*, 23, 419 note 19.

¹⁰²Cannon and O'Higgins, *Under the Prophet*, 247.

corrupt its pure ways. He stood side by side with Presidents Brigham Young, John Taylor, Wilford Woodruff, and Lorenzo Snow as they attempted to stave off the corrupting influences of the modern world.”¹⁰³ There is definitely some truth in this interpretation, since “defending the old ways” was doubtless Cannon’s natural inclination.

However, far from being a traditionalist and a reactionary, Cannon, in a forward-looking development, initiated the two most decisive series of master strokes that ushered Mormondom into the mainstream of the modern world. First, his unsurpassed understanding of the political situation in the 1880s and 1890s compelled him, although he was himself a polygamist, to recognize the urgent need for independence that only Utah statehood could assure and thus, reluctantly, to lead out in the Church’s distancing itself from polygamy. Achieving this goal also brought Utah’s residents into full fellowship with other U.S. citizens. His leadership in accomplishing this momentous goal probably surpassed all nonreligious accomplishments of any of the Church presidents he served, except perhaps Brigham Young.¹⁰⁴

The second achievement was his farsighted and essentially correct action during the devastating depression of the 1890s. Many observers, including Church President Lorenzo Snow and his colleagues on the Quorum of the Twelve, strongly disagreed that a Church leader should be so deeply involved in economic matters. But Cannon could not restrain himself with so great a need and so much confidence that his plans could make a difference. Although his efforts fell short of total success, sufficient outside development capital assured success for at least the electric power and beet sugar industries. Their firm establishment not only helped retain local control of intermountain resources and enterprises, but also assured greater area employment and agricultural market opportunities. Cannon’s financial initiatives were admittedly extravagant in extent, and the debt it forced the Church to carry was indeed oppressive. Yet within an amazingly short time, these strategies also began relieving almost-unbearable financial pressures, an accomplishment

¹⁰³Bitton, *George Q. Cannon*, 451.

¹⁰⁴In Lyman, *Political Deliverance*, virtually every chapter documents Cannon’s leadership in one way or another. See also Bitton, *George Q. Cannon*, 357-72.

even more impressive because it occurred before the end of the depression. After the beginning of economic recovery in the region and the nation in late 1898 and 1899, the Church's financial situation improved dramatically, even though Cannon, who had set up the solution, did not receive the credit due him.

In discussing the Wilford Woodruff Manifesto, in which George Q. Cannon deferred to the prophet's initiative, biographer Thomas G. Alexander extravagantly but correctly argued the Church leader "refocused the course of the intermountain west." Although I continue to argue the primacy of Cannon's role in most other political and economic actions by the Church, I do agree that these developments, led by Woodruff, "began the transition from isolation to assimilation." Both Woodruff and Cannon, primarily through Cannon's strategies, "redefined [the Church's] relationship with the nation as a whole." They also "subordinated the ideal of the kingdom of God to the ideal of loyalty to the United States."¹⁰⁵ George Q. Cannon's economic program accomplished an equally drastic but significant purpose in integrating Mormondom into the nation's economic life.

Bitton concedes that some of Cannon's critics, including three Church presidents, "considered his financial judgement faulty" and that a viable case could be made for that conclusion.¹⁰⁶ Many still consider Cannon's economic initiatives to far exceed his authority. Yet, Cannon's actions began a fortuitous chain of events for Utah and Mormonism at a crucial juncture. Without better access to relevant records, it is not currently possible to determine when the Church acquired most of the securities it held throughout the twentieth century, but its holdings in at least Utah Power and Light, Utah-Idaho Sugar, and Union Pacific Railroad date from the period when Cannon took an active role in fashioning a new financial empire. Yet Cannon's style of consulting few beyond Woodruff, repelling questions brusquely, and over-protecting his erratic son engendered a rising opposition that left him marginalized and discredited during the last two and a half years of his life. He has thus been denied recognition for a significant mission to which he devoted a major portion of the last half dozen years of his eventful life.

¹⁰⁵Alexander, *Heaven and Earth*, 287, 320-21.

¹⁰⁶Bitton, *George Q. Cannon*, 455.

“SCANDALOUS FILM”: THE CAMPAIGN TO SUPPRESS ANTI-MORMON MOTION PICTURES, 1911-12

Brian Q. Cannon and Jacob W. Olmstead

IN 1911, LEADERS OF THE Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints confronted a new form of opposition: hostile depictions of the Church, its history, and its missionaries on the silver screen. At this time, the social influence of the motion picture industry was rising rapidly. As a result of competition within the industry, the quality of films was improving, substantial multi-reel feature films were being imported from Europe, and theaters were at last beginning to attract large numbers of middle-class viewers. The film industry in the early 1910s was rapidly acquiring recognition as a powerful force for education as well as entertainment.¹ Under these circumstances it seemed that the Church must take this new medium and its portrayals of Mormonism seriously.

Church representatives first encountered anti-Mormon silent

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¹Garth Jowett, *Film: The Democratic Art* (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1976), 51.

films in Europe and attempted somewhat unsuccessfully to combat the negative images of Mormonism purveyed therein. Church leaders in Salt Lake City were not touched directly by these developments. Within a matter of months, though, the release of several films in the United States drew not only local Church leaders and missionaries into the fray but also the Church's First Presidency. In their quest to stem the tide of anti-Mormon film, Church leaders worked with civic organizations such as the Salt Lake Commercial Club and state and local government officials. The Church's efforts reflected its leaders' increased sensitivity to public opinion during this era.² While these efforts to influence the film industry yielded few victories with regard to film censorship, they did entail significant cooperation between Mormons and non-Mormons in Utah as both groups endeavored to promote positive perceptions of Utah, its history, its residents, and Mormonism itself. Moreover, this historical episode was particularly important because it forced General Authorities to consider the Church's relationship to film, the potential role of film in enhancing or diminishing the Church's reputation, and the best ways for the Church to respond to cinematic portrayals of its history and culture. Shortly after its brush with anti-Mormon cinema in 1911-1912, the Church began working with friendly filmmakers, hoping that favorable films would improve the Church's image. Building upon previous scholarly work regarding anti-Mormon silent films,³ this paper uses new sources, including the corre-

²Thomas G. Alexander, *Mormonism in Transition: A History of the Latter-day Saints, 1890-1930* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1986), 239-57, examines some of the Church's key attempts during this era to foster favorable views of the Church and its membership.

³The fullest discussion of anti-Mormon silent films is Richard Nelson, "A History of Latter-day Saint Screen Portrayals in the Anti-Mormon Film Era, 1905-1936" (M.A. thesis, Brigham Young University, 1975). Nelson's unpublished study draws upon sources in Danish regarding *A Victim of the Mormons* and Mormon pamphlets printed in England which attacked the film. It also effectively draws upon film trade publications including *Moving Picture News* and *Moving Picture World*, as well as Utah newspapers and the *New York Morning Telegraph*. A much briefer study covering a broader time period is Richard Alan Nelson, "From Antagonism to Acceptance: Mormons and the Silver Screen," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 10 (Spring 1977): 59-69. Alexander, *Mormonism in Transition*, 242, mentions

spondence of Ben E. Rich, president of the Eastern States Mission; Rudger Clawson, president of the European Mission; the First Presidency, and Utah Governor William Spry,⁴ as well as the files of the National Board of Censorship, in investigating innovative efforts by these religious, governmental, and commercial leaders to suppress anti-Mormon silent films.

ANTI-MORMON FILM AND PLAYS IN ENGLAND, 1911

Spanning 1910 through 1914, a vigorous campaign swept through Great Britain bent on exposing Mormonism's "vile" practices, specifically, polygamy. Religious leaders, lecturers, books, and newspapers partly blamed Mormons and their missionaries for the erosion of conservative Victorian values. "The Mormon Problem"—polygamy and missionaries who were believed to be luring young women to Utah for entrapment in polygamous harems—concerned government officials in many lands including Sweden, the Netherlands, and Great Britain. The European anti-Mormon crusade grew out of a similar movement in the United States. In 1910 and 1911 muckraking journalists published supposedly new evidence of corruption and continuing plural marriages in the Church. Those reports rapidly made their way to Europe. At the same time, lecturers such as Hans Peter Freece, hired by opponents of the Church in the United States, traveled abroad to launch an anti-Mormon campaign.⁵

the existence of films "which focused on accounts of the Mountain Meadows Massacre, plural marriage, and atrocities of the Danites." D. Michael Quinn, *The Mormon Hierarchy: Extensions of Power* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1997), 810-11, briefly identifies the international distribution of *A Victim of the Mormons*, claiming, "It [was the] target of [the] first censorship effort led by Utah governor."

⁴William J. Roper and Leonard J. Arrington, *William Spry: Man of Firmness, Governor of Utah* (Salt Lake City: Utah State Historical Society, 1971), 95, devote a single page to Spry's protest of *A Victim of the Mormons* and erroneously conclude that it "had the desired effect."

⁵Nelson, "History of Latter-day Saint Screen Portrayals," 25. A Utah native who studied law at Columbia College, Freece went to Europe in 1910 as a representative for the Interdenominational Council of Women to lecture on Mormonism. His "eye witness" accounts of life in Utah played a significant role in rallying anti-Mormon sentiment in Europe. See also

Because the anti-Mormon crusade coincided with the film industry's rapid development and film producers' quest for marketable tales, it is not surprising that, at the height of this crusade on 2 October 1911, Nordisk Films released an hour-long feature film entitled *Mormonens Offer* (*A Victim of the Mormons*) in Copenhagen. At the time Denmark was a world leader in silent motion pictures, and Nordisk Films was a distinguished production studio. Ole Olsen, its founder, was the first European filmmaker to identify the dollar potential in the sensational "Mormon problem." Olsen routinely focused upon sensational issues that would "rouse people's emotions" as a means of ensuring his films' popularity. Publicity for the film suggests that Olsen and other officers at Nordisk believed anti-Mormon films would turn handsome profits and, at the same time, position the film industry as a champion of social morality.⁶

The plot of *A Victim of the Mormons* was typical of anti-Mormon themes in books, plays, and lectures of this era. A program designed to advertise the film in Danish denounced the aims of Mormon missionaries and warned, "He who sees this film and reads this text booklet is warned against the deception of Mormonism." The film traces the fictitious travails of a young woman (Florence) lured to Utah by an unscrupulous Mormon missionary (Larson). Florence comes to her senses too late, when the pair are already aboard a ship to America. The story turns into a cat-and-mouse chase between the Mormon elder and Florence's brother (George) and suitor (Leslie). In the end Larson dies in an accidental shooting, and Florence is free.⁷ Of particular interest is a scene from the "temple," an interesting amalgamation of the Salt Lake Temple's baptistry, complete

Malcolm R. Thorp, "The Mormon Peril': The Crusade against the Saints in Britain, 1910-1914," *Journal of Mormon History* 2 (1975): 73-75.

⁶ *The Cinema in Denmark* (Copenhagen: Danish Film Foundation, 1970), 3-4, quoted in Nelson, "History of Latter-day Saint Screen Portrayals," 2925.

⁷ A partial copy of the film is available at the Archives, Family and Church History Department, Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City (hereafter LDS Church Archives). A copy is also located at the Danish Film Museum in Copenhagen. Vlademar Psilander, the most popular early twentieth-century actor of Danish film, played the Mormon elder. August Blom, the director, was also well respected in the industry. Nelson, "History of Latter-day Saint Screen Portrayals," 24-29.

with oxen, and a set of organ pipes patterned after those in the Salt Lake Tabernacle.⁸

On 10 October 1911, not long after *A Victim of the Mormons* premiered in Denmark, the film was released in England.⁹ Prior to its release, the film was advertised to theater owners in the English film trade paper *Bioscope*. The ad promised large returns by claiming, "This Great Winner Creates a Record Booking."¹⁰ Only days after *A Victim of the Mormons's* release, advertisements in *Bioscope* continued to boost it by claiming that the "enormous demand" in many towns warranted "re-issuing a 2nd run copy" and that "the song of the shrewd successful showman" was "the Mormons are coming, Hur-rah! Hur-rah!"¹¹ In addition advertisements similar to the Danish program went out from the Nordisk Films' London office, informing readers of the film's release date, length, and plot. After commenting on the press's alleged exposure of the "pernicious doctrines" of Mormonism, the program promoted the film as the most effective means of discrediting Mormonism. Here was a "drama which . . . should do more to counteract the growth of Mormonism in this country than all the preaching against it, even by the most noted clerics." The film would particularly "open the eyes of those foolish members of the gentler sex who are unluckily too easily gulled by the oily tongue of the deceiver"—those "vampires" who "sow the seeds of the hated cult of Mormonism."¹²

The arrival of *A Victim of the Mormons* in England apparently coincided with the production of a popular anti-Mormon play enti-

⁸Given the semi-accurate depiction of the temple baptistry, the set may have been based on exposés describing temple rituals such as *Baptism for the Dead: The Font Resembling Somewhat the "Molten Sea" of Solomon's Temple* (London: n.pub., 1911). Edwin D. Hatch, "Moving Picture Misrepresentations," *Millennial Star* 73 (9 November 1911): 710, illustrates the agitation that such depiction of sacred rituals engendered in Latter-day Saints.

⁹Nordisk Films, *A Victim of the Mormons*, marketing pamphlet, Nordisk Release Heralds, Vertical Files, fd. 132, Margaret Herrick Library, Special Collections, Academy of Motion Picture Arts and Sciences and Academy Foundation, Beverly Hills.

¹⁰"A Victim of the Mormons," *Bioscope* 8 (5 October 1911): 8.

¹¹"Jury's Imperial Pictures, Ltd.," *Bioscope* 8 (12 October 1911): 66.

¹²Nordisk Films, *A Victim of the Mormons*.

tled *Through Death Valley, or The Mormon Peril*.¹³ The two productions quickly attracted the attention of Rudger Clawson, president of the European Mission. Shortly after the film's debut, Clawson sent an optimistic letter to the First Presidency (Joseph F. Smith, Anthon H. Lund, and Charles W. Penrose) in Salt Lake City, reporting, "Our enemies are trying to stir up trouble for us with moving picture shows and theatrical performances, but usually the offering is so rank and abominable, that the mark is over-reached and the shaft falls harmless at our feet." Clawson continued, "Just enough interest has been aroused in the subject to create a good demand for our literature and doubtless good results will follow." For example, he said, the manager of a theater showing *A Victim of the Mormons* denied the missionaries permission to distribute tracts at the exits, but the elders stood in the street instead and sold their tracts (then standard operating procedure) with good success.

The tract they most likely used, *£200 Reward*, offered a cash reward to anyone with knowledge of actual instances where women had been captured and taken to Utah by Mormon elders. This publication by the British Mission, which reprinted a letter to the *Liverpool Express* written by Volney S. Peet, a non-Mormon newspaper editor in Salt Lake City who campaigned vigorously against anti-Mormon sentiment, had been available for distribution since 10 August 1911, and its effectiveness in connection with the film and play was great enough to warrant an order of 173,000 in February 1912.¹⁴

Despite Clawson's original optimism, by mid-December 1911 his confidence had turned to misgivings. "The moving picture show agitation is still on," he wrote to the First Presidency, speaking of both the moving picture and play. "The 'Mormon' play is a prominent feature, and with other things, attracts large crowds. It is un-

¹³The authorship of this play, which Clawson names in his correspondence and publications, is unclear. A search of the collections of the British Library, the Library of Congress, and libraries in Utah revealed no works with this title.

¹⁴*£200 Reward* (Liverpool: Millennial Star, 1911); Rudger Clawson, "The Anti-'Mormon' Moving Pictures and Play," *Millennial Star* 51 (21 December 1911): 808; Rudger Clawson, Letters to the First Presidency, 7 November 1911, 21 February 1912, Letters to the First Presidency, Box 9, MS 481, Rudger Clawson Papers, Manuscripts Division, J. Willard Marriott Library, University of Utah, Salt Lake City.

doubtedly retarding the work more or less in the mission, as it serves to emphasize the prejudice already in the minds of the people against us. A living picture is, after all, quite a live thing, and often times makes a lasting impression on the mind. A *Victim of the Mormons* and *Through Death Valley, or The Mormon Peril* are plays that are in every sense lurid and sensational." In despair elders in the mission had written to Clawson asking what was to be done to stop the presentation of such films and plays. Clawson, who had failed to obtain a fair hearing in the British newspapers, concluded gloomily, "I presume it would be about as easy to inaugurate some method that would prevent the newspapers lying about us, as it would be to prevent these picture shows doing the same thing!"¹⁵

As Mormon leaders scrambled to develop a method for combating the bad publicity generated by these dramas, the *Liverpool Daily Post and Mercury* reported more bad news:

In view of the crusade going on throughout the country against Mormonism, the extraordinary cinematography film entitled, *A Victim of the Mormons* which is being shown at the Garston Picturedrome this week, is particularly interesting, and there was a crowded audience at that popular house last night.

The picture had just begun after the interval when something of a sensation occurred in the body of the hall. A man rose and exclaimed, "I protest against this picture being shown in this hall to-night." Immediately there was an uproar, the lights were promptly turned up, and the interrupter was speedily ejected through a door at the rear of the hall.¹⁶

The owner of the theater claimed he had received a letter from the "Mormon Brotherhood" threatening to protest if the film continued to be shown and therefore blamed the Mormons for the commotion. The disturbance may have been a gimmick to create controversy about the film in an effort to attract viewers, or it may have been caused by a sincere but misguided local member. In an attempt to show that the protests were an advertising gimmick, the

¹⁵Rudger Clawson, Letters to the First Presidency, 15 December 1911, 5 March 1912, Box 9, Clawson Papers.

¹⁶"Mormons Ejected," the article that appeared in the *Liverpool Daily Post and Mercury* dated 12 December 1911, was reproduced in Rudger Clawson, "The Anti-'Mormon' Moving Pictures and Play," *Millennial Star* 51 (21 December 1911): 809.

Millennial Star reported that similar demonstrations took place at other locations "almost simultaneously." Rudger Clawson, undoubtedly outraged by the attention this report would bring to the film, was also insulted by the claim that the Church had been involved. He wrote in the *Millennial Star*, "The shows themselves being insufficient, apparently, to keep up the interest to fever heat, a clumsy dodge is resorted to." Clawson sent a letter to the *Liverpool Daily* denying that the Mormon leadership had sent a letter to the theater owner or had played any part in the disturbance. The *Liverpool Daily*, however, declined to print it.¹⁷

By December the Church's standard response to presentations of the film in Britain was having missionaries stand outside the theater doors to distribute tracts and pamphlets to the exiting audience. On 21 December, a new tract by Rudger Clawson, *The Anti-"Mormon" Moving Pictures and Play*, was introduced to supplement £200 Reward.¹⁸ This tract directly rebutted the film and was tailored to the mission's strategy for spreading literature at the films. It educated its readers regarding the crusade against Mormonism and identified *A Victim of the Mormons* and the play *Through Death Valley, or The Mormon Peril* as the most recent facets of the campaign. It also included the *Liverpool Daily Post and Mercury's* exposé on the recent disturbance at the Garston Picturedrome, and Rudger Clawson's letter to the editor.¹⁹

Although Clawson had spent the last quarter of 1911 desperately seeking an appropriate method to counter the films, by February and March 1912, the tone of his letters to the First Presidency had changed from frustration to confidence. Returning to his original optimistic impressions, he was elated about the success of the mission's efforts. Many of the conferences (mission districts) such as Norwich, Hull, and York reported favorable results from distrib-

¹⁷*Ibid.*, 808-11.

¹⁸The elders sold this tract to investigators for "one shilling and three pence per thousand." Nelson, "History of Latter-day Saint Portrayals," 31.

¹⁹Rudger Clawson, Letter to Frances M. Lyman, 19 December 1911, quoted in Rudger Clawson, "European Mission Report Made by Elder Rudger Clawson of the Council of the Twelve," n.d., 91, Box 8, Clawson Papers; Rudger Clawson, Letter to the First Presidency, 21 February 1912, Box 9, Clawson Papers; and Clawson, *The Anti-'Mormon' Moving Pictures and Play* (Liverpool: Millennial Star, 1911).

uting tracts to those who attended anti-Mormon performances. Clawson quoted one elder, "We distributed tracts at each performance to those in attendance and as a result we have had quite a number of strangers at our meetings. Some of them remarked that they could readily see the absurdity of the pictures and were led by curiosity to our gatherings. Many of them seemed quite favorably impressed."²⁰

While *A Victim of the Mormons* made its debut in England at the apex of persecution and intolerance toward the Latter-day Saints there, Clawson detected a difference between these films and anti-Mormon lectures and newspaper reports. Prophetically, he wrote, "It is easy to be seen that the managers of these picture shows are largely influenced by mercenary motives in their attack upon the Mormons! I imagine these disreputable shows will go as long as the almighty dollar goes with them, but when the dollar fails to show up the pictures will sink unto oblivion." The *Millennial Star* printed a story which illustrates Clawson's point. After the elders in the Norwich Conference had distributed literature at a theater presenting *Through Death Valley, or, The Mormon Peril* "the receipts at the theatre for the week were surprisingly low. The manager of the company was very angry over the results. He has stated that he had not made enough to pay the actors, and he blamed it to our tracts." Although this anecdote deals with the play, it nevertheless illustrates Clawson's point about motion pictures as well. The suspicion that the films were primarily meant, not to denigrate the Church, but rather to generate a profit by using a highly sensationalized topic to draw crowds, combined with the missionaries' success in curbing the negative influences of the film, gave hope to Clawson and the Latter-day Saints residing in England.²¹

²⁰Rudger Clawson, Letter to the First Presidency, 12 March 1912, Letters to the First Presidency, Box 9, Clawson Papers.

²¹Rudger Clawson, Letter to Frances M. Lyman, 19 December 1911, quoted in "European Mission Report," 91, Clawson Papers; "The Anti-'Mormon' Drama," *Millennial Star* 74 (22 February 1912): 124-25. Clawson's optimism was premature; the Church faced continued attacks in the British press, while missionaries suffered numerous threats and even physical violence. In 1913 Clawson noted that, by almost every measure, missionaries had been less successful in 1912 than in 1911. Baptisms, visits to families, and the number of gospel conversations had declined. Clawson

COMBATting ANTI-MORMON FILMS IN THE UNITED STATES

Meanwhile, the Church in the United States was only beginning to confront anti-Mormon films. Late in 1911 the trade journal *Moving Picture World* announced that *A Victim of the Mormons* was slated for release by Nordisk Films' American subsidiary, the Great Northern Film Company, in the United States during the first week in February. A full-page image from the film appeared in the magazine, offending Mormons by its inaccurate and indelicate depiction of sacred Mormon rites; the photo showed several white-robed women crowded on a platform above a temple baptismal font, awaiting baptism by a man in the water below.²²

By 6 January, the First Presidency had learned from Lester Park, a Mormon in the theater business, that the film would soon be shown in America. This, Park warned them, was not a film to be ignored. In an era of short, one-reel films, this three-reel experimental feature film with a much more fully developed plot was likely to dazzle audiences. Park, who had been in the film industry for years, believed it to be "possibly the seventh three-reel" film ever produced. Identifying himself as a member of the Church and a "film exchange representative and a moving picture exhibitor," Park wrote to the editor of *Moving Picture World*, "vigorously" protesting the film's release.²³

reported that "the spirit of prejudice took hold of the minds of the people to the extent that it was indeed difficult to get a gospel conversation." Clawson, "European Mission Report," 144.

²²"A Victim of the Mormons," *Moving Picture World* 10 (30 December 1911): 1085. The film had already been screened in Australia and South Africa, as well as in Europe. Rudger Clawson, "European Mission Report," 91, Clawson Papers. A small advertisement for a film entitled *An Episode of Early Mormon Days* appeared in the 9 December issue of *Moving Picture World*. However, the Church at the time paid no attention to this film. "List of the Best Films Released During the Week of Dec. 11th, 1911," *Moving Picture World* 10 (9 December 1911): 787.

²³*R.L. Polk & Co.'s Salt Lake City Directory, 1911* (Salt Lake City: R. L. Polk & Co., 1911), 776; Nelson, "History of Latter-day Saint Screen Portrayals," 44-45, 174; *Motion Picture World*, 27 January 1912, clipping in Scrapbook no. 1, 1909-16, p. 117, Box 1, William Spry Papers, L. Tom Perry Special Collections, Harold B Lee Library, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah; First Presidency, Letter to Ben E. Rich, 6 January 1912, Box

Close on the heels of Park's ominous news came word of another cinematic attack upon the Mormons. *The Mountain Meadows Massacre*, distributed by Pathé Frères, the largest film company in the world, had already been released on the West Coast. Utahns who had seen it while vacationing in southern California contacted the Salt Lake Commercial Club, the state's foremost booster organization and a model of Mormon and Gentile cooperation, claiming the film slandered Utah.²⁴

While Church leaders fretted about *A Victim of the Mormons*, news of *The Mountain Meadows Massacre* initially attracted more attention from Utah's business community, igniting a firestorm of protest.²⁵ The Salt Lake Commercial Club and the Utah Develop-

2, fd. 13, Scott G. Kenney Collection, Perry Special Collections. European producers like Nordisk pioneered feature films; before 1912, all of the three-reel feature films shown in America had been produced abroad. Tino Balio, ed., *The American Film Industry*, rev. ed. (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1985), 109-13; Robert Sklar, *Movie-Made America: A Cultural History of American Movies* (New York: Vintage Books, 1975), 37.

²⁴"Moving Pictures Libel, Utah Travelers Report," *Salt Lake Herald Republican*, 10 January 1912, 2; "Business Men See Libel in Utah Film," *Salt Lake Tribune*, 11 January 1912, 16. For information on Pathé Frères, a French company, see Anthony Slide, *The American Film Industry: A Historical Dictionary* (New York: Greenwood Press, 1986), 259; Gene Fernett, *American Film Studios: An Historical Encyclopedia* (Jefferson, N.C.: McFarland & Co., 1988), 162-64. The Salt Lake Commercial Club, originally the Chamber of Commerce, was established in April 1887. Organized to promote the economic growth of Salt Lake City and Utah and to minimize religious and political divisions for the sake of economic development, it worked at establishing home industry and attracting population and capital to Salt Lake City. Membership included Mormons, apostates, and Gentiles, who agreed to set political and religious divisions aside in club activities and meetings. By 1912 the club had 1,200 members statewide including the state's most prominent leaders in business. "Officers and Board of Governors of the Commercial Club," *Deseret News*, 20 January 1912, 3:II; Thomas G. Alexander and James B. Allen, *Mormons & Gentiles: A History of Salt Lake City* (Boulder, Colo.: Pruett Publishing, 1984), 104-5.

²⁵The heated reaction of the Salt Lake City Commercial Club and similar organizations such as the Utah Development League was to be expected; both groups had invested effort and cash in advertising Utah as a means of attracting out-of-state business and promoting stability and

ment League sent telegrams to Pathé's U.S. headquarters in New Jersey, complaining that the film was "a libel on the state of Utah," and "respectfully demand[ing]" that Pathé remove the film from circulation. The Commercial Club also petitioned the Los Angeles Chamber of Commerce, a similar organization established in southern California in 1888, to lobby Pathé's Los Angeles subsidiary to have the film "withdrawn at once." If Pathé spurned their request, the Utah businessmen planned to approach the state's Congressional delegation and the National Board of Censorship, a private organization with ties to the motion picture industry.²⁶

Theater owners and politicians elsewhere echoed the complaints and demands of Salt Lake's business community regarding *The Mountain Meadows Massacre*. Utah's governor, William Spry, prepared to appeal to Pathé Frères. In Ogden, the state's second largest

wealth. One of many projects was the printing in January 1912 of 40,000 promotional booklets by the Salt Lake Commercial Club. "Big Advertising Deal," *Deseret News*, 25 January 1912, 14. In that same month at a combined conference of the Utah Development League (which included many members of the Commercial Club), the Utah Press Association and the Native Sons of Utah promoters concluded that they would need to spend upwards of \$50,000 over the next few years to properly advertise Utah to the East. "Citizens Are Uniting for Greater Utah," *Salt Lake Tribune*, 24 January 1912, 1. Businessmen felt that the previous year's advertising campaign in Europe and the United States had been highly successful. They anticipated that 1912 would far surpass 1911 in economic growth and did not want adverse publicity to stifle that growth. "Salt Lake Looms on Map of World," *Salt Lake Tribune*, 6 January 1912, 10; "Business and Trade," *Salt Lake Tribune*, 7 January 1912, 6.

²⁶"Business Men See Libel in Utah Film," 16; Charles Dwight Willard, *A History of the Chamber of Commerce of Los Angeles, California* (Los Angeles: Kingsley-Barnes & Neuner, 1899), 58-70. Although there was no formal affiliation between the Salt Lake and Los Angeles organizations, some of Salt Lake's foremost entrepreneurs were frequently in Los Angeles on business, and Utah had strong economic ties to California. During 1911 over one-third of the Utah homesteads taken up by people from out of state were filed on by Californians. Utah, recognizing the importance of this influx of Californians, had held one "land show" in Los Angeles and was planning another. "Los Angeles May Help Suppress Films," *Salt Lake Herald Republican*, 13 January 1912, 3; "Great Result in Advertising Utah," *Deseret News*, 11 January 1912, 5.

city, the mayor, a member of the City Commission and a theater owner, demanded that the film be withdrawn from circulation and threatened to "do all in my power" to prevent any of Pathé's films from being screened in Utah if it declined cooperation. Likewise the Alhambra Theatrical Company, which operated theaters in Utah, Idaho, and Wyoming, warned that it would "refuse to show Pathe's pictures" unless *The Mountain Meadows Massacre* were withdrawn.²⁷

LDS Church leaders worked behind the scene, instructing Ben E. Rich, president of the Eastern States Mission, to ask the National Board of Censorship to "condemn" the film. Unbeknownst to them, the National Board had already approved the film two months earlier. An editorial in the Church-owned *Deseret News* branded the film "a fake" and praised the Commercial Club for opposing the film. Despite their strong opposition to the film, Church leaders took a private role, partly because they wanted to downplay the connection between the massacre and the institutional church. The Mountain Meadows Massacre was "not [a] concern [of] the Church," the *Deseret News* proclaimed, and its leaders had played no role in it. Instead, it was "a crime for which no one was responsible but those who committed it." The Church opposed the film, according to this editorial, because it dredged up a demoralizing incident in a manner that was injurious to "the fair name of Utah." "Uncritical" viewers might "transfer the odium of long ago to the present" and thereby associate Utah with murder and mayhem. Advertising Utah as a place of "murders and cut-throats" at such an inauspicious time, only three years before the San Francisco World's Fair, would prejudice "hundreds of thousands" who might pass through the state on their way to California.²⁸

Three days after receiving the Commercial Club's telegram,

²⁷First Presidency, Letter to Ben E. Rich, 10 January 1912, Box 2, fd. 13, Kenney Collection; "Protesting Against Moving Picture Film," *Deseret News*, 13, January 1912, 3; "Moving Picture Co. Takes Definite Steps," 16 January 1912, 3; "A Vigorous Protest Made," *Ogden Evening Standard*, 15 January 1912, 8.

²⁸First Presidency, Transcript of Letter to Ben E. Rich, 10 January 1912, Box 2, fd. 13, Kenney Collection; Ben E. Rich, Letter to First Presidency, 23 February 1912, Box 35, fd. 2, Reed Smoot Collection, Perry Special Collections; "A Timely Protest," *Deseret News*, 11 January 1912, 4; "Should Be Suppressed," 22 January 1912, 4.

Pathé Frères pointed out that withdrawing the film at the behest of Utah residents might also generate "adverse newspaper comment against Utah." Nevertheless, the company offered to withdraw the film provided that the club reimburse its expenses, a fair proposition in the sense that it offered something to both the company and the Commercial Club. The club rejected the offer on the equally reasonable grounds that accepting the offer would potentially open it to "blackmail" by producers. Several weeks later when Rich visited the company's office, its officers, most of whom were French, feigned ignorance of American and Mormon history and claimed they could not see why anyone would take umbrage at it when it was a feature film set in the past that laid no claim to historical accuracy. Rich reported that the Pathé representative with whom he spoke said his company's officials were "hot over the pre-emptory telegrams" they had received and felt that if the Club had really been concerned about the issue, it would have bought up the film's multiple copies.²⁹

Meanwhile the Los Angeles Chamber of Commerce condemned the film but informed the Salt Lake businessmen that only the General Film Company, the official distribution agency for major motion picture producers, could suppress it. Apparently the chamber never appealed to the company, since it seemed unlikely that the General Film Company, as a creation of the studios and their Motion Picture Patents Company, would have cooperated.³⁰

While the LDS Church maintained a relatively low profile in the largely unsuccessful campaign against *The Mountain Meadows*

²⁹Pathé Frères, Telegram to Joseph E. Caine, 12 January 1912, quoted in "Company Demands Payment to Quit," *Salt Lake Tribune*, 13 January 1912, 9 ("blackmail" is the reporter's term; it does not appear in the telegrams); Rich, Letter to First Presidency, 23 February 1912, Box 35, fd. 2, Smoot Collection. Offering to sell film rights to a group interested in suppressing a film was a strategy which the foremost film censorship agency, the National Board, occasionally promoted. See, for example, W. D. McGuire, Executive Secretary for the National Board of Review, draft of letter for possible use by distributors Hiller and Wilkes, n.d. [1917], Box 105, Records of the National Board of Review, New York Public Library, New York City.

³⁰"Mountain Meadows [Copies of] Film Obnoxious," *Deseret News*, 20 January 1912, 1. For information on the General Film Company, see Balio, *The American Film Industry*, 103-6, 145-49.

Massacre, it worked more vigorously and successfully on several fronts to suppress *A Victim of the Mormons*. In addition to contacting Reed Smoot, an apostle and Utah's U.S. senator, about the film, the First Presidency instructed Ben E. Rich to petition the National Board of Censorship to condemn it before its scheduled release to theaters. While they apparently assumed that the board wielded "dictatorial" power and could prevent a film's release, the board in reality could merely recommend changes to films they reviewed.³¹

The National Board of Censorship, established by one of the most famous settlement houses in the nation, the People's Institute, in cooperation with motion picture producers and exhibitors, reviewed films prior to their release, identifying offensive scenes or subtitles that needed to be eliminated before a film could receive the board's stamp of approval. Such notables as Andrew Carnegie, Shailer Matthews, Samuel Gompers, and Anthony Comstock sat on the board's first executive committee. The board's stated policy was to "insist that there be no sensationalism and no representation of crime except with the object of conveying a moral lesson." Moreover, "certain socially forbidden themes" were proscribed. The board also objected to "anything of a sacrilegious nature." While no filmmaker was legally bound to obtain the board's authorization, doing so helped them in marketing their products, so the board exerted substantial leverage. Thus, the First Presidency's decision to lobby the National Board was shrewd and sensible, although Church leaders overestimated the board's coercive powers.³²

³¹First Presidency, Letter to Ben E. Rich, 6 January 1912; First Presidency, Transcript of letter to Reed Smoot, 6 January 1912, Box 2, fd. 13, Kenney Collection; "Business Men See Libel in Utah Film," 16.

³²The National Board claimed in a 1911 report that filmmakers "believe[d] it to be to their commercial advantage" to produce films that met board standards. As historian Shelley Stamp has observed, in the early 1910s, the board's bulletin of approved films enjoyed wide circulation among municipalities and civic organizations. Consequently its approval of a film could enlarge a film's prospective audience. "The influence of reformers [on the board] was real," notes historian Lary May. Yet while the board's approval was beneficial to many filmmakers, it was apparently not essential to their success since at least 15 percent of the films produced in the early 1910s were not even submitted to the board for review. "Censors Destroyed Evil Picture Films," *New York Times*, 14 May 1911, 5; Minutes of

The First Presidency also approached William H. Swanson, president of the Rex Motion Picture Company, a major independent film company, and asked him to present the Church's case against the film to the producer, the Great Northern Film Company. Swanson was a good choice for this task; the New York businessman owned Salt Lake City's only independent exchange and, as a board member of the Motion Picture Distributing and Sales Company, the firm that distributed all of the Great Northern Film Company's regular releases, he could readily gain an audience with the producer. On yet another front, the First Presidency consulted with Utah Governor William Spry who pledged to write to the National Board of Censorship on behalf of the state, protesting the film's release "on the grounds of injury which will come to the state of Utah" as a result of the film's "malicious misrepresentation against the Mormon people."³³

On 9 January, Spry sent his protest to Swanson, for delivery to the National Board. Spry requested the suppression of the film, along with another film, *The Mormon*, which he had learned was also slated for release later that month. *The Mormon*, which was much shorter than *A Victim of the Mormons*, had been produced by the American Film Manufacturing Company, an independent producer. It depicted an attack made by Mormons on a nineteenth-century wagon train in order "to secure new wives." Spry wrote "on behalf of the people of Utah," objecting to the films on the grounds that they would "tend to revive and kindle prejudice against this state"

the Meeting of the General Committee, 19 January 1917, Box 121, Records of the National Board of Review; Shelley Stamp, "Moral Coercion, or the National Board of Censorship Ponders the Vice Films," in Matthew Bernstein, *Controlling Hollywood: Censorship and Regulation in the Studio Era* (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1999), 42; Lary May, Letter to the Editor, *American Historical Review*, 87 (June 1982): 913. See also Lary May, *Screening Out the Past: The Birth of Mass Culture and the Motion Picture Industry* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1980), 54-59; Robert Fisher, "Film Censorship and Progressive Reform: The National Board of Censorship of Motion Pictures, 1909-1922," *Journal of Popular Film* 4, no. 2 (1975): 143-56.

³³First Presidency, Letter to Ben E. Rich, 6 January 1912, and First Presidency, Letter to Reed Smoot, 6 January 1912, Box 2, fd. 13, Kenney Collection; Nelson, "History of Latter-day Saint Screen Portrayals," 35.

and thereby "retard" the state's economic development. The governor maintained that "there is so much of inspiration in the present day labors of the people of Utah" that "resort need not be had to . . . false stories, such as those in question, whose rehearsal slanders a state and a people." Instead of resorting to fiction, he suggested, why not ask the state of Utah to "suggest themes for picuture [sic] dramas [sic] regarding Utah that will be truthful and elevating."³⁴

Before communicating with the National Board, Swanson contacted John R. Freuler, an officer of the American Film Company, which had produced *The Mormon*. Because this film was a regular release, slated for distribution through the Motion Picture Distributing and Sales Company (MPDSC), Swanson as a member of the MPDSC board was able to wield substantial influence. Swanson persuaded the entire MPDSC board to "use what influence we can to persuade them not to release" *The Mormon*. The company's representative responded to the board by pledging to "in every way possible rectify any objections to the issuance of the film." The representative suggested that merely removing all mention of Mormonism from the title would "perhaps eliminate criticism." Swanson claimed victory in this incident, and the film's distribution may have actually been curbed, but the film was nevertheless released under the original title on 25 January in New York City.³⁵

While Church leaders had concerns about *The Mormon*, they were more interested in preventing the circulation of *A Victim of the Mormons* because it was longer and more sophisticated and because it focused on contemporary missionaries rather than a historical subject. In an effort to explain the Church's position, Swanson com-

³⁴William Spry, Letter to National Board of Censorship, 9 January 1912, Box 3, Spry Papers; "Governor Spry Stops Slander," undated clipping, Scrapbook, 1909-16, 1:112, and "The Mormon: A Western Drama to be Released by the American Film Co.," undated clipping, Scrapbook, 1909-16, 1:114, Box 1, Spry Papers. *The Mormon* is referred to in some sources as *The Mormons*.

³⁵William H. Swanson, Letter to William Spry, 29 January 1912, and Swanson to Spry, 11 January 1912, Box 3, Spry Papers; "Helped Suppress Libelous Films," *Deseret News*, 10 February 1912, 2; Nelson, "A History of Latter-day Saint Screen Portrayals," 41, 52-53; "Heeds Request for Suppression of Film," *Salt Lake Tribune*, 4 February 1912, 28. For information on the MPDSC, see Slide, *The American Film Industry*, 221-22.

municated with the National Board of Censorship and also contacted Ingvall Oes, the producer's agent in New York City. Although the MPDSC, with Swanson as one of its directors, purchased and distributed all one-reel films produced by the Danish producer of the film, *A Victim of the Mormons* was being marketed independently of the MPDSC as a "special release," so Swanson was forced to rely largely upon his persuasive powers in negotiating with Oes. Multiple-reel feature films like *A Victim of the Mormons* were financially risky experiments, Oes reminded him. The Great Northern, like most producers of feature films, had decided to manage that risk by selling exclusive rights for *A Victim of the Mormons* on a state-by-state basis to local theater owners or exchanges. Under these conditions, Oes advised Swanson, the only way to prevent the film from being shown in the United States would be for Utah to purchase screening rights to the 45,000 feet of film that had already been imported for \$6,750.³⁶

Swanson apparently agreed with Oes's solution and passed his recommendation on to Spry, who furiously rejected the filmmaker's offer to sell the film to the state, accused Oes of blackmail, and publicly threatened in early February to "use every influence at my command" to "prohibit the exploitation of motion pictures in the state of Utah," an oblique threat that made it unclear whether he would attempt to ban all films or only ones he considered to be offensive.³⁷

Gearing up for what might be a perilous battle against the entire movie industry, Spry, an honorary member of the Salt Lake Commercial Club, sought the club's assistance. The Commercial Club had already been asked to oppose the film on 11 January, but the club, which included powerful non-Mormon businessmen, had declined to do so because the film "deal[t] with a religious subject wholly" and the club had a longstanding policy of avoiding religious

³⁶William H. Swanson, Letters to William Spry, 11 January 1912, 29 January 1912, Box 3, Spry Papers; Balio, *The American Film Industry*, 111.

³⁷William Spry, Letter to William H. Swanson, 19 January 1912, Box 3, Spry Papers; "Victim of Mormons' Prohibited," *Salt Lake Telegram*, 3 February 1912, 8; "Heeds Request for Suppression of Film," 28. One New York newspaper interpreted Spry's statement to mean that he would "banish all pictures from Utah." "Mormon Governor Threatens to Bar Films in Utah," *New York Morning Telegraph*, 28 January 1912, sect. 4, pt. 2, p. 1.

questions. In light of recent developments, though, non-Mormon members in the club remarkably decided to set that policy aside and cooperate with the governor in opposing filmmakers' attempts to defame the Church. On 22 January, prominent non-Mormon businessmen and members of the Salt Lake Commercial Club including William McCornick, Daniel Jackling, Simon Bamberger, Samuel Park, John Dern, and George T. Odell lodged a protest with the National Board of Censorship objecting to the release of anti-Mormon films on the grounds that they would "prove very prejudicial to progress here." Smoot and some of his western colleagues in the Senate, at his request, likewise protested against unfavorable films about Mormonism.³⁸

Continuing his campaign on behalf of Utah and the Church, Swanson wrote an article for the trade paper, *Moving Picture World*. The article quoted the "grave complaints and protests" of Mormon theater owner Lester Park and the Salt Lake Commercial Club. "It is impossible to resist the conclusion," maintained Swanson, "that the Mormons are [being] attacked as a religious sect and made the objects of hatred, ridicule and contempt." Films with such a vitriolic agenda were "decidedly inexcusable." Although it published Swanson's essay, *Moving Picture World* continued to advertise the films.³⁹

Swanson was a highly effective emissary in conveying the objections of the Church, Salt Lake business organizations, and the governor to the film industry, and he was feted in Utah for that role. But Isaac Russell, a Mormon journalist in New York City and the nephew of Ben E. Rich, was an even more effective lobbyist for the Church and the Commercial Club before the National Board of

³⁸"Business Men See Libel in Utah Film," 16; "Victim of Mormons, Title of New Film," 12 January 1912, 14; First Presidency, Letter to Ben E. Rich, 6 January 1912, and McCornick et al., Letter to National Board of Censorship, 22 January 1912, Box 2, fd. 13, Kenney Collection; Ben E. Rich, Letter to Reed Smoot, 23 January 1912, and Smoot, Letter to Rich, 25 January 1912, Box 35, fd. 2, Smoot Papers. One of the films mentioned in the telegram from members of the Commercial Club, *A Mormon Victim*, was clearly *A Victim of the Mormons*. But the identity of the other, *Lured by the Mormons*, is unclear.

³⁹"The Sectarian Film Once More," *Moving Picture World* 11 (27 January 1912): 282; William H. Swanson, Letter to William Spry, 29 January 1912, Box 3, Spry Papers.

Censorship, although his role in the matter was largely hidden from public view. A Stanford graduate with important social and political connections, Russell had previously labored at the Church's request on matters relating to the media and public relations in New York City. Russell met with his friend John Collier, educational secretary of the National Board of Censorship, about *A Victim of the Mormons*. In their candid conversation, Russell learned that the National Board consisted of a Board of Directors or Executive Committee, a General Committee, and a Censoring Committee composed of dozens of prominent citizens. Usually, up to three representatives from the Censoring Committee were assigned to review a film before it was shown in theaters.

Two members of the Censoring Committee, a Mrs. Whaley and a Mr. Sonnichsen, had already viewed and approved *A Victim of the Mormons*, contingent upon minor deletions, well before anyone in Salt Lake City had even heard of the film. On the strength of this approval, the producer's agent in New York had ordered copies of the film from Denmark and had advertised screening rights. This prior approval placed the National Board's executives in a sticky situation with regard to both the producer and the censors who had approved the picture. Collier warned Russell that the board had a longstanding policy of disregarding "sectional protests"; for instance, it had recently turned a deaf ear toward protests from Catholics over a film's "historically true" depiction of "a corrupt and licentious Pope." He did admit, however, that the board had decided "when a film has a propagandist purpose—while it is used for a crusade on some question before the Courts"—it would work to suppress that film. Russell seized upon this point to argue that *A Victim of the Mormons*, with its charge that missionaries were kidnapping women and dragooning them into plural marriage, "ha[d] been used as a propaganda against the Mormons." Such anti-Mormon films "hurt [the] missionaries, and injure[d] their good name." Russell believed this argument "impressed [Collier] more than anything else." Collier agreed to bring the matter before the board's executive committee, presenting any arguments and evidence which the Church might prepare in favor of the film's suppression. Collier asked Russell to draft a letter that he might present, and Russell recommended to Rich that the Church officially register "a vigorous religious protest."⁴⁰

Rich immediately cabled the information to Salt Lake City and

prepared a letter for the board protesting the film in his role as president of the Eastern States Mission. Anticipating that he might be invited to appear before the board, he cabled other mission presidents, asking them to send him "their protests in behalf of safety of elders." At least one president, James E. Robinson, replied with a wire detailing problems caused in California by the recent presentation of anti-Mormon films.⁴¹ In the San Francisco area, Robinson indicated, a film had been shown entitled *An Episode of Early Mormon Days*, depicting the Mountain Meadows Massacre and portraying Joseph Smith and Brigham Young as conspirators in the massacre. The film, which Robinson called "fake and foreign to the truth," had nearly caused a riot. The *Salt Lake Tribune* reported that at one showing "several Mormons were among the audience, and took such exception to the production that for a time, a fight seemed imminent."⁴²

⁴⁰Walgren, "Inside the Salt Lake Temple," 6-9; Isaac Russell, Letter to Ben E. Rich, 22 January 1912, Box 4, fd. 16, Kenney Collection; "Minutes of the Special Meeting of the General Committee Held at the National Board of Censorship Offices, January 31, 1912," Minutes of Special Review Meetings, Box 121, Records of the National Board of Review, New York Public Library. Documentation of Russell's previous public relations work for the Church is found in Isaac Russell, Letter to Theodore Roosevelt, 2 February 1911; Theodore Roosevelt, letter to Isaac Russell, 4 February 1911; Isaac Russell, Letters to Brother [B. H.] Roberts, 8 February 1911, 6 May 1911, 13 May 1911, Box 4, Kenney Collection. Collier's position on the board is identified in "Censor Board Bows to Mormon Mandate," undated newspaper clipping, Scrapbook 1, 1909-16, 115, Spry Papers. A *Victim of the Mormons* was reviewed by representatives of the National Board 5 December in New York City. The two reviewers approved the film, contingent upon "complete elimination" of two scenes in which "attack and struggle between [a] Mormon and [a] girl" were portrayed or suggested. "Voting Record of Films Viewed, November and December 1911," Special Reports, Box 163, Records of the National Board of Review, New York Public Library.

⁴¹Ben E. Rich, Letter to First Presidency, 22 January 1912, Box 4, fd. 16, Kenney Collection.

⁴²"Moving Pictures Stir Up Feeling," *Deseret News*, 25 January 1912, 5. Robinson's telegram is quoted in "Massacre Picture Nearly Causes Riot," *Salt Lake Tribune*, 25 January 1912, 5.

In his letter to the National Board, Russell endeavored to place the recent outpouring of anti-Mormon films within the context of Utah and Mormon history to help the board understand Utahns' strenuous opposition to the films and their depiction of missionaries as recruiters for polygamous harems. Admitting that many older Mormons including President Joseph F. Smith continued to live with their plural wives, Russell indicated that the ascendant generation was committed to monogamy and was "striving by every possible means to work away from the old issue" that had been so divisive in Utah. Russell attributed recent adverse publicity regarding Mormon polygamy to Thomas Kearns and Frank Cannon; both, he said, had become embittered following their political defeats, coupled with the Cannon family's fall from prominence in the Church after George Q. Cannon's death. Russell averred that Kearns's and Cannon's bitterness provided the "basis" for four anti-Mormon articles which had appeared in national magazines in 1910 while at about the same time, the Interdenominational Council of Women had hired Hans P. Freece to lecture against Mormon missionaries. Freece and the magazine articles arrived in Europe "about the same time" and directly inspired European filmmakers in Denmark to portray the Mormons as kidnappers of young women, Russell speculated. He denied that the Mormons were importing girls for polygamy or that they had ever done so.

The film would be interpreted by westerners as "a libel" not only because it impugned the honor of Mormons but because it threatened Utah's reputation and commercial interests. The Commercial Club in Salt Lake, comprised of Mormons and "Gentiles," was determined to "boost the region" and to "welcome the tourist, to make him at home, to get him over certain old ideas about the west." The club possessed strong ties to similar clubs in thirteen western states as well as businesses in the East. It would be unwise, Russell warned, to "keenly anger" such a large and influential group. Knowing that the Board of Censorship was itself struggling to counter critics who charged that it was merely a pawn of the film industry, Russell urged the board to avoid the wrath of western businessmen by taking "a broad stand against films which are morally libels upon large classes of citizens" and which inspired "hatred."⁴³

The protests from Russell, Rich, Smoot, the Commercial Club and especially Spry were persuasive. Walter Story, Secretary for the

National Board, told reporters that protests from Utah were “pouring in . . . by the sackful” and that “the Salt Lake commercial bodies were making a howl.” After receiving Spry’s protest letter, the chairman of the board’s General Committee, Thomas R. Slicer, viewed the film and then hastily invited three other members of the Executive Committee including Collier to see it. On 24 January the Executive Committee discussed the situation, which “appeared quite serious to all.” Two members agreed to inform the producer’s agent, Ingvald Oes, that to retain the board’s approval, the producer would have to “eliminate” the film’s “objectionable character” by removing all references to Mormonism. The prescribed changes were so extensive that they would “mutilat[e]” the film, the *New York Morning Telegraph* averred.⁴⁴

The following week on 31 January, eleven members of the General Committee met at the request of the Executive Committee to discuss Oes’s rejection of the board’s ultimatum. The crucial issue for the board was not the reputation of Utah or of the Church; rather it was the board’s standing and the fear that, in the West, “the seeing of this picture with the approval of the board would greatly damage the confidence which it has endeavored to obtain throughout the country at large.” Fearing, as Russell had shrewdly pointed out to Collier, that the board’s “reputation and usefulness” would be compromised unless it rescinded its earlier approval, the board voted to revoke its approval of the film. Three representatives were appointed to inform Oes that “this action . . . was understood to prohibit the use by the importer” of any suggestion “that the film had been passed by the National Board of Censorship.” Thus, the film and its advertisements, which had previously carried the National

⁴³Isaac K. Russell, Letter to National Board of Censorship, 24[?] January 1912, Box 4, fd. 16, Kenney Collection.

⁴⁴“Mormon Film Has 'Em Wobbly,” *New York Morning Telegraph*, 30 January 1912, 2; “Minutes of the Special Meeting of the General Committee Held at the National Board of Censorship Offices, January 31, 1912,” Minutes of Special Review Meetings, Box 121, Records of the National Board of Review, New York Public Library; “Heeds Request for Suppression of Film,” 28; “Mormon Governor Threatens to Bar Films in Utah,” 1.

Board's stamp of approval, would have to be altered slightly, potentially impairing the film's marketability.⁴⁵

Word of the board's decision reached Utah by the end of the week. On 3 February Spry received a copy of the *New York Morning Telegraph's* report of the decision. Spry was jubilant and, in an attempt to claim credit for the victory, provided reporters with copies of his telegrams to the board. Perhaps misunderstanding the National Board's powers, the *Salt Lake Telegram* reported that the film would not now be released unless it was "changed and the name or title . . . eliminated." The *Salt Lake Tribune* also claimed that the board had "ban[ned]" the film while the *Deseret News* hailed Spry for having "done the State splendid service in securing the repression" of the film and recognized the representatives of the Commercial Club who "so ably seconded his efforts on behalf of the good name of the State."⁴⁶

Meanwhile, Oes and the Great Northern Film Company denounced the "Mormon racket" which had induced the National Board to rescind its approval of the film, announcing that they planned to "go right ahead" and distribute the film. The *Morning Telegraph*, the New York daily which covered the film industry more fully than any other paper in the city, applauded Oes's stand and derided the board, observing correctly that the National Board "cannot suppress anything. It is a subsidized body without official standing." The paper's editor asked, "How much longer will the producers of picture plays permit the interference of this discredited body?"—meaning the Censorship Board. The paper printed a letter from Alexander E. Mackie, a non-Mormon who claimed to have lived in Utah for forty years. Brazenly arguing that the film depicted Mormonism accurately, Mackie viciously contended, "It would have been the proper thing for our brainy censors to have replied to the Governor of Utah in words to the effect that when Utah cleared her skirts

⁴⁵"Minutes of the Special Meeting of the General Committee Held at the National Board of Censorship Offices, January 31, 1912," Minutes of Special Review Meetings, Box 121, Records of the National Board of Review, New York Public Library; "Heeds Request for Suppression of Film," 28; "Mormon Governor Threatens to Bar Films in Utah," 1.

⁴⁶"Victim of Mormons' Prohibited," *Salt Lake Telegram*, 3 February 1912, 8; "Heeds Request for Suppression of Film," 28; "Bad Films Repressed," *Deseret News*, 5 February 1912, 4.

of traitors, lecherous scoundrels, polluters of the home, enticers of young girls, and robbers of ignorant foreigners, it might be time enough to suppress [the] films."⁴⁷

Others interpreted the incident as evidence of the Church's considerable political clout. For instance, Spry received a copy of an editorial from the *Memphis Appeal* decrying "all the political influences" wielded by "the Mormon Church, backed by the Mormon Governor." Although the editor admitted that tales of unsavory proselyting tactics might be "colored to some extent," he nevertheless held that "the Mormon Church is an evil that should be suppressed. . . . Consequently if the suppressed picture show would have helped to strengthen public opinion against the teachings of Brigham Young it would have been well for the people at large."⁴⁸

In retrospect, it seems strange that no one raised the issue of free speech to defend the film. Of course, the National Board possessed no legal authority and could therefore not be accused of abridging any Constitutional right. Moreover, although the legality

⁴⁷"Mormon Governor Threatens to Bar Films in Utah," 1; "Mormon' Film to be Censored by National Board," *New York Morning Telegraph*, 31 January 1912, p. 1; "Film 'Censors' Right on the Job," *New York Morning Telegraph*, 1 February 1912, p. 12; "A Victim of the Mormons, the National Board of Censorship and the Falsehoods Spread by the Utah Press," *New York Morning Telegraph*, 18 February 1912, sect. 4, pt. 2, p. 1; "Mormonism Jolted by Utah Man," *New York Morning Telegraph*, 11 February 1912, sect. 4, Pt. 2, p. 1. Alexander Mackie does not appear in Salt Lake City directories for 1911 or 1912, nor in Utah census indexes for 1880, 1900 or 1910. Possibly it was a pseudonym. Although it was not the city's largest paper, the *New York Morning Telegraph*, which printed Mackie's letter, was an important player in the city's journalism community. The paper was edited and managed by an experienced newspaperman, William E. Lewis, who had previously worked for the *Kansas City News*, the *Chicago Times*, the *New York Journal*, and the *Philadelphia North American*. Nelson served as editor and general manager of the *Morning Telegraph* for over two decades. Albert Nelson Marquis, ed., *Who's Who in America: A Biographical Dictionary of Notable Living Men and Women in the United States* (Chicago: A. N. Marquis and Co., 1924), 1978.

⁴⁸*Memphis Appeal*, quoted in "Action of Mormon Governor of Utah Teaches a Lesson," undated clipping, Scrapbook no. 1, 1909-16, 111, Spry Papers.

of governmental censorship of films had been challenged in the courts as early as 1909, filmmakers did not make a legal argument on First Amendment grounds until 1915, and even then the U.S. Supreme Court rejected this approach.⁴⁹

As the press weighed the merits of the board's decision, William Swanson traveled to Salt Lake City a couple of weeks after the National Board's meeting, where he was hailed as a hero for his role in "suppress[ing] several sets of libelous moving picture films which are uncomplimentary to the state and the people of Utah." Swanson met with Governor Spry and with the First Presidency, who lavished praise and "recognition" upon him. He admitted that his role in suppressing the films had been "little" but boldly pledged to work with the Commercial Club in persuading the National Board, now that it had withdrawn its approval of *A Victim of the Mormons*, to "condemn" both *Mountain Meadows Massacre* and *A Victim of the Mormons*, thus discouraging theater owners from showing the films. Meanwhile, Isaac Russell received no public recognition for his efforts.⁵⁰

The celebration in Salt Lake City over the National Board's ruling was short-lived. One week after Swanson's 10 February arrival, Joseph F. Smith learned of yet another anti-Mormon film, *Marriage or Death*, which the National Board of Censorship was supposedly reviewing. Swanson agreed to once again work with the Commercial Club in trying to prevent the film's release. After Swanson had obtained the names of the production company's officers, Joseph F. Smith cabled Ben E. Rich asking him to contact the company. It was none other than Pathé, the distributor that had been willing to withdraw *Mountain Meadows Massacre* only if the state of Utah would buy every copy of it.⁵¹

⁴⁹In *Mutual Film Corporation v. Ohio* (1915) the Supreme Court ruled that Constitutional guarantees of freedom of speech and freedom of the press did not extend to the movie industry, which was "a business, pure and simple, originated and conducted for profit, like other spectacles." Jowett, *Film*, 120; Richard S. Randall, *Censorship of the Movies: The Social and Political Control of a Mass Medium* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1968), 12, 18-21.

⁵⁰"Helped Suppress Libelous Films," *Deseret News*, 10 February 1912, 2; "Will Aid Effort to Suppress Films," *Salt Lake Tribune*, 11 February 1912, 16.

Initially Rich was hopeful. The secretary of the National Board informed him that the board had not yet reviewed the picture and that there was still time for the Church to lobby against it. But when Rich visited Pathé's headquarters he was told that the National Board had actually approved the film three months earlier; the National Board's secretary had somehow overlooked the notation in the board's records. Worse, the film had been released two days earlier and was already playing in New York theaters. The officials with whom Rich spoke claimed they had "no desire to fight the Church" but could not see why the Church would be concerned anyway: "Their contention," reported Rich, "is that the scenes displayed are of events that are supposed to have happened long ago, and that no one pretends to believe the moving picture story any more than he would a story in a yellow backed novel." To prove they were not singling out Mormons for persecution, an official told the mission president that the company was also filming *The Hunchback of Notre Dame*, which portrayed the Catholic clergy unfavorably and that Pathé expected Catholics to "make a rumpus when it comes out." Pathé had invested thousands of dollars in each film, and they could not justify withdrawing expensive films from circulation "simply because some one's feelings are hurt."⁵²

Rich also learned that on 8 February, just a few days after the board's General Committee had withdrawn its approval of *A Victim of the Mormons*, another anti-Mormon film, *The Danite*, a two-reel production by Selig Studios in Chicago, had been approved by representatives of the board's Censoring Committee.⁵³ Although the

⁵¹First Presidency, Transcripts of telegrams to Ben E. Rich, 17 February 1912; 20 February 1912, Box 2, fd. 13, Kenney Collection. *Marriage or Death* was advertised in *Motion Picture World* 11 (17 February 1912): 614. A review described it as "another Mormon story picturing the horrors of the religious fanaticism of a few years ago. A young girl is about to be forced into wedlock with a Mormon when she is rescued by cowboys, her family having been previously forced out of the country because of their refusal to comply with the Mormon demand. The scenes are supposedly laid in Utah, the action taking place in the time of the Mormon settlement of that then wilderness country." "Marriage or Death," *New York Morning Telegraph*, 25 February 1912, sect. 4, Pt. 2, p. 3.

⁵²Ben E. Rich, Letter to First Presidency, 23 February 1912, Box 4, fd. 16, Kenney Collection.

term "Mormon" never appeared in the film, its connection to the Church was apparent to anyone familiar with Mormon history. The film had been advertised in *Motion Picture World* on 17 February and had opened in New York, the first reel, containing the first half of the film, on 19 February and the second, containing the conclusion, on the following day.⁵⁴

Rich was discouraged and disillusioned. Consistently, anti-Mormon films had been previewed by members of the board's Censoring Committee well before he or any other Church official had even heard of them. By the time they learned about the films, it was too late to act. After members of the Board of Censorship had approved a film, it was practically "suicide" for the board to reverse itself, Rich had been told. The General Committee had made an exception to its policies in the case of *A Victim of the Mormons*, but the decision had driven a wedge between members of the Censoring Committee and the General Committee and had been heavily criticized in some influential papers. Particularly, allegations that the board had bowed to the wishes of the Church had damaged the board's credibility. Rich learned, probably from Russell who had visited with the board's Executive Secretary, that "the strongest weapon that could be used against it [the board] would be to say that at the behest of the Mormon Church it withdrew approval it had formerly given."

In other ways, too, the board's reversal of its stand on *A Victim of the Mormons* had proved to be a pyrrhic victory. The Great Northern Film Company had released *A Victim of the Mormons* anyway and was successfully capitalizing upon the Church's intervention as a

⁵³This film written by McKee Rankin was loosely based upon his popular five-act Broadway production, *The Danites*, produced by the American Play Company, in New York City. This play was very successful in the United States and in Europe during the late nineteenth century. Nelson, "A History of Latter-day Saint Film Portrayals," 66-68. A copy of the script for the Broadway version is in fd. 201, William Selig Collection, Special Collections, Margaret Herrick Library, Academy of Motion Picture Arts and Sciences and Academy Foundation.

⁵⁴"Selig," *Moving Picture World* 2 (17 February 1912), 614; "Pictures Are Released," *Deseret News*, 24 February 1912, 2; "The Danites," *New York Morning Telegraph*, 25 February 1912, sect. 2, Pt. 4, p. 3; Nelson, "History of Latter-day Saint Screen Portrayals," 68. It was not unusual for installments of multi-reel films to be released on succeeding days.

means of advertising the film. Although the evidence today is unclear, Rich claimed he had it on “good authority” that the board had “‘crawfished’ on its [pro-Mormon] decision” in the face of “hostile criticism” from the press and the film’s distributor. The film had been released without modification in the six states where showing rights had been sold prior to the board’s decision. According to rumors which had reached Rich, the company had modified the film somewhat before selling it in other states. However, the title, with its reference to Mormonism, remained unchanged everywhere.⁵⁵

⁵⁵Ben E. Rich, Letter to First Presidency, 23 February 1912, Box 4, fd. 16, Kenney Collection; Ben E. Rich, Letter to Reed Smoot, 29 February 1912, and Reed Smoot, Letter to First Presidency, 23 February 1912, Box 35, fd. 2, Smoot Collection; “Mormon Governor Threatens to Bar Films in Utah,” 1. Whereas the board’s General Committee had insisted on 29 January that all references to Mormonism be removed from the film, Rich was under the impression that the board had retreated to the original position taken by the two members of the Censoring Committee who had reviewed the film in November: excising only any “suggestion of force on the part of the Mormon” missionary or of “struggle on the part of the girl.” Rich may have misunderstood the board’s position and its power. No evidence in the minutes of the board’s meetings suggests that it retreated from its stance or restored its approval of the film. Nor did the producer imply in advertisements for the film that it had been endorsed by the board. The board had, however, met with substantial opposition as a result of its decision, not only from the *New York Morning Telegraph* and the Great Northern Film Company but from members of the Board’s Censoring Committee who took umbrage that the General Committee had vetoed their decision to approve the film without consulting with them. Irene Langford, the “only member of the theatrical profession” on the board’s Censoring Committee, had resigned in protest, complaining, “The attitude taken by the board in regard to the protest of the Mormons against a film that told a story of Mormonism is only another proof of the uncertain policy which these censors have. It simply shows that the pictures are passed upon utterly without regard to their merit as plays.” “Miss Irene Langford Resigns from That ‘Censorship’ Board,” *New York Morning Telegraph*, 25 February 1912, sect. 4, pt. 2, p. 1. See also “Mormon Meddlers Being Ignored by Film Manufacturers,” *New York Morning Telegraph*, 4 March 1912, sect. 4, pt. 2, p. 1. Evidence of internal opposition to the General Committee’s stance also appears in the addition made on 18 April 1912 to the Minutes of the Special Committee of the General Committee, 31 January 1912, Box 121, National

Rich wrote to Reed Smoot in the Senate, enclosing a copy of his letter to the First Presidency in which he described his dissatisfaction with the National Board as "a creature of the film companies, who use it merely for the advertising it brings them." The Church's protests had "accomplish[ed] little except to advertise the films and thus increase their circulation." He recommended that Congress create a truly official "national" board with power to review films, to bar advertisements of offensive films from the mail and to prohibit "ship[ping] such pictures from one state to another."⁵⁶

Board of Review Records, acknowledging that the Censoring Committee had adopted a resolution several months earlier in October 1911 requesting the right to be present and to vote in situations where the General Committee met to review a decision regarding a film that had been made by members of the Censoring Committee.

⁵⁶Ben E. Rich, Letter to Reed Smoot, 29 February 1912, and Ben E. Rich, Letter to First Presidency, 23 February 1912, Box 35, fd. 2, Smoot Collection. Rich, who emerged from his encounter with the National Board of Censorship convinced that federal police power was the only effective means of regulating the film industry, had followed the same path that many Progressive reformers had followed, preferring initially to work within the realm of voluntary organizations and the private sector but ultimately coming to appreciate the power of the state to enforce standards. Although film censorship bills were introduced by others in Congress later in the Progressive Era, Smoot did not sponsor any of them, and none of them came before the Senate for a vote. Perhaps Smoot did not support calls for federal censorship because he and some other General Authorities did not agree fully with Rich's assessment of the board's inefficacy. Similarly, it appears that the Utah press did not question the board's efficacy. Even though David O. McKay quoted a letter from a missionary in the April 1912 general conference stating that "It is a shame that the men and women composing the national board of censorship for moving pictures cannot see the untruthfulness of the picture [*A Victim of the Mormons*] and reject it," Joseph F. Smith attempted to work through the National Board to suppress *A Mormon Maid* in 1917, and Heber J. Grant advised Smoot in 1921 to lobby the National Board to condemn the British film *Riders of the Purple Sage*. In his correspondence with the National Board at Grant's behest in 1921, Smoot did threaten to support legislative efforts to create a federal board of censorship if the board did not suppress *Riders of the Purple Sage*. *Report of the Eighty-Second Annual Conference of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*, 5 April 1912 (Salt Lake City: Church of Jesus

While Rich believed that the entire episode demonstrated the necessity for vigorous federal regulation of the cinema, he along with others who sought to suppress anti-Mormon films also felt that the episode served as a reminder of the silver screen's power—for good or ill. As Rich noted, the film industry was “growing to an immense size.” Indeed, historically, this realization was probably the most important legacy for the Church of these unfavorable films. Governor Spry believed film to be a more powerful medium for reaching the masses and shaping opinions than any other means of communication. “I believe it is today furnishing amusement and education to a greater number of people than any other one agency,” he said. Ben E. Rich saw little redeeming merit in the film industry's current products, which seemed to “plant the spirit of murder and robbery in the minds of young Americans,” but he was convinced that a properly regulated film industry might “be used for an immense amount of good.” Driving home the same point that film could help as well as hurt the Church, Rex Swanson encouraged Church leaders to commission their own favorable film about Mormonism. Later that year, with the memory of their brush with anti-Mormon films fresh in their minds, Church authorities entered into a cooperative agreement with the Ellaye Motion Picture Company to produce a ninety-minute feature film entitled *One Hundred Years of Mormonism*.⁵⁷

Christ of Latter-day Saints, semi-annual), 53-54; Joseph F. Smith, Letter to Cransten Brenton, Chairman of the Executive Committee of the National Board of Review, 23 March 1917, Box 105, Records of the National Board of Review; Heber J. Grant, Letter to Reed Smoot, 24 August 1921, quoted in Nelson, “History of Latter-day Saint Screen Portrayals,” 131; Reed Smoot to National Board of Review, 2 July 1921, Box 78, Records of the National Board of Review. For Smoot's campaign against *Riders of the Purple Sage*, see Nelson, “History of Latter-day Saint Screen Portrayals,” 128-39.

⁵⁷Ben E. Rich, Letter to Reed Smoot, 29 February 1912, Box 35, fd. 2, Smoot Collection; William H. Swanson, Letter to William Spry, 29 January 1912, Box 3, Spry Papers; William Spry to National Board of Censorship, 9 January 1912, Box 3, Spry Papers. According to Levi Edgar Young, the Ellaye Motion Picture Company “entered into a contract with the Church authorities to produce the history of ‘Mormonism.’ The agreement stipulated that the Church was merely to sanction the production of the historical scenes, which the company had chosen to

Although their exposure to anti-Mormon films in 1911-12 convinced some Church and civic leaders that films possessed potentially immense manipulative or educational power, others believed the same incidents demonstrated that the influence of films upon public opinion was evanescent. The *Deseret News* recalled in a mid-March editorial that just a few weeks earlier "some of our correspondents" had been "very much concerned" about anti-Mormon films. In retrospect, it appeared to the editor that there had been "hardly any ground for alarm." Slanderous nineteenth-century anti-Mormon novels were now "forgotten," and "the falsehoods presented in the film will have the same fate." Why had anyone been so concerned? Had not God promised, "No weapon that is formed against thee shall prosper"?⁵⁸

One perceptive Utah resident, George A. Hicks of Spanish Fork, believed Mormons could and should draw a very different lesson from their encounter with spiteful films. Writing to the *Salt Lake Tribune* on 21 February, Hicks castigated filmmakers who sought to make money by sensationalizing Mormon history and culture and depicting demoralizing incidents like the Mountain Meadows Massacre; but he also pointed out that individuals within the Mormon community were guilty of similar offenses. In February, for instance, a person had delivered two illustrated lectures in Mormon

enact." Levi Edgar Young, "'Mormonism' in Picture," *Young Woman's Journal* 24 (February 1913): 77. According to Richard Nelson, "History of Latter-day Saint Portrayals," 73-77, the company "agreed to relinquish control over the final release version to the Church in return for LDS sanction." It is unclear whether the Church helped fund the film. Several days prior to the film's 1 February 1913 premiere, the First Presidency communicated its "approval" of the film to the producer. On 5 February, though, the First Presidency withdrew its approval upon the advice of William T. Nuttall, the film's advance manager. Church leaders expressed their "desire" for the film's "success" but said they "believe[d] that outside of Utah and its vicinity the exhibition will be benefited rather than injured by the absence of our endorsement." First Presidency, Letter to Utah Moving Picture Company, 24 January 1913; First Presidency, Letter to P. A. Thompson, 5 February 1913, Box 2, fd. 14, Kenney Collection.

⁵⁸"As to Those Films," *Deseret News*, 13 March 1912, 4. The quoted scripture appears in 3 Nephi 22:17 and Isaiah 54:17 and with slight variation in D&C 71:9 and D&C 109:25.

meeting houses in central Utah on the murder by an Illinois mob of Joseph and Hyrum Smith and on the massacre of Mormons at Haun's Mill in Missouri. "If it is wrong to represent acts of violence committed by a few of the Mormon people against Gentiles, so it is also wrong to blame the whole of the people of Missouri and Illinois for what only a few of them were guilty of," Hicks reasoned. Mormons should scrutinize their own versions of their history for misrepresentation and exaggeration as sensitively and closely as they scrutinized films about the Church produced by outsiders.⁵⁹

CONCLUSION

In both the United States and Great Britain the flood tide of anti-Mormon films soon subsided. Never again in the silent film era would such a barrage of anti-Mormon films be produced within the space of only a few months. Nearly ninety years after the release of *A Victim of the Mormons*, *The Mountain Meadows Massacre*, and other sensational films about Mormonism in 1911-12, the films themselves have been almost completely forgotten; no known archival copies of any survive, except for *A Victim of the Mormons*.

The films and the historical record of the controversy that surrounded their release deserve to be remembered, however, for several reasons. The release of anti-Mormon films in 1911-12 was important because of its impact upon missionary efforts. While attacks against the Church in the press and physical persecution of missionaries also played a role, it seems likely that unfavorable portrayals of the Church, its history, and its missionaries on the silver screen contributed to reduced baptismal rates. In Britain baptisms declined from 2.98 per missionary in 1910 to 1.6 in 1911, the year when anti-Mormon films were introduced there. In the Eastern States Mission where Ben E. Rich and Isaac Russell worked to turn the tide of anti-Mormon films, baptisms fell precipitously following the showing of unfavorable films from 1,920 in 1911 to 1,433 in 1912, a decline of over 25 percent. Although other factors certainly contributed to the trend, anti-Mormon films were partly to blame.⁶⁰

⁵⁹"Why Not Reciprocate," *Salt Lake Tribune*, 25 February 1912; "Mormon Hypocrisy and Motion Pictures," undated clipping, *New York Morning Telegraph*, Scrapbook no. 1, 1909-16, 113, Box 1, Spry Papers.

⁶⁰Statistical Reports of the British Mission for the Years Ending 31 December 1910 and 31 December 1911, British Mission Manuscript

The release of anti-Mormon films was also significant because of the interreligious cooperation that the films provoked. While the Church and its allies may have gained little by petitioning the National Board, winning "a victory only over the National Board," in the words of the *New York Morning Telegraph*, the Church's success in working with secular organizations containing large numbers of non-Mormons like the Salt Lake Commercial Club was remarkable. At a time when religious tensions and divisions remained strong in Utah politics and society, Utah business leaders united behind a campaign to promote favorable images of Utah and its residents and, significantly, to contradict invidious religious stereotypes. The precedent for cooperation that was established in 1912 was repeated nine years later in the face of another unfavorable film, *Riders of the Purple Sage*, based on Zane Grey's best-selling novel.⁶¹

The Church also managed, as a result of the incidents of 1911-12, to exert some long-term influence over the views of at least some members of the National Board. When four representatives of the board's Review Committee examined a new feature film entitled *A Mormon Maid* in 1917, rather than approving the picture they decided to refer it first to the General Committee because it "involve[d] a question of controversy with the Mormon Church" and would "likely cause a great deal of opposition on the part of that organization." When the board's General Committee reviewed the film, board member Miriam S. Price recalled the "trouble in Utah" that had occurred as a result of *A Victim of the Mormons*. When a fellow committee member who had not been party to the previous deliberations asserted that the board should not concern itself with "the difficulties which this picture might encounter in Utah," Price disagreed and urged the board to "not pass a picture offensive to a religious sect." Ultimately a majority of the committee rejected Price's viewpoint and approved the film, but it did adopt her recommendation that a heading be inserted in the film indicating that it did not depict contemporary conditions in Mormon country, a small

History, 16 April 1908-5 April 1913, LDS Church Archives; Eastern States Mission Reports, Presiding Bishopric, "Financial, Statistical and Historical Reports of Wards, Stakes and Missions, 1884-1955," LDS Church Archives, as extracted by Church Archives staff.

⁶¹"Miss Irene Langford Resigns from That 'Censorship' Board," 1; Nelson, "History of Latter-day Saint Screen Portrayals," 130-35.

concession, but at least an acknowledgment that the institutional Church no longer sanctioned polygamy.⁶²

The most enduring legacy from this brush with anti-Mormon films in 1911-12 was Church leaders' heightened sensitivity to the potential of film for reaching, educating, and influencing vast audiences. In the April 1912 general conference, David O. McKay referred to *A Victim of the Mormons* and observed that film constituted "a stronger means of disseminating knowledge, even than the press." McKay explained, "When you read a book you depend upon the printed page for your mental pictures. If those characters are readily interpreted the reader will probably get the idea or the picture which the author intended to express; but when you may sit and see it acted, see it portrayed as naturally as though it were being enacted in the every-day life, then the mental pictures are given as definitely and as rapidly as the motions of the actors can portray them." Responding to this new appreciation of the power of motion pictures, Church leaders agreed within a few months of their campaign against anti-Mormon films to cooperate with a friendly producer, hoping that favorable films about Mormonism would improve the Church's image. Long after the plots of films like *A Victim of the Mormons* had been forgotten, the fascination with the power of the silver screen remained. As the twentieth century progressed, films became a key element in the Church's proselyting and public relations efforts. The events of 1911-12 helped to set the stage for those developments.⁶³

⁶²Minutes of the Meeting of the General Committee, 19 January 1917, Folder: "General Committee Minutes of Special Review Meetings, 1917-1934," Box 121, National Board of Review Records.

⁶³*Report of the Eighty-Second Annual Conference of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*, 5 April 1912 (Salt Lake City: Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1912), 53.

OUT OF THE SWAN'S NEST: THE MINISTRY OF ANTHON H. LUND, SCANDINAVIAN APOSTLE

Jennifer L. Lund

IN THE MID-NINETEENTH CENTURY, the celebrated Danish storyteller Hans Christian Andersen penned a tribute to his native land nestled “between the Baltic and the North Sea.” His thinly veiled parable likened Denmark to “an old swan’s nest” in which “have been and will be hatched swans whose fame will never die.”¹ His metaphor comparing Danes to the regal birds of distinctive elegance who graced the shimmering lakes of royal estates contains an irony: Nests are useful only for birth and nurturing. To mature, the fledgling swan must leave its nest behind. One of the 12,000 nineteenth-century Danes² who took flight for Zion in the Ameri-

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¹Hans Christian Andersen, “The Swans’ Nest,” *Hans Christian Andersen: The Complete Fairy Tales and Stories*, translated by Erik Christian Haugaard (New York: Anchor Books, 1983), 408-9.

²William Mulder, *Homeward to Zion: The Mormon Migration from*

can West was seventeen-year-old Anthon Henrik Lund, who achieved a distinguished career in Utah as an educator, businessman, legislator, apostle, and counselor to two Church presidents. The first apostle of Scandinavian birth, he fulfilled a leader's role for thousands of Latter-day Saint converts from throughout Scandinavia. He was their friend, their counselor, and their advocate. Although he never forgot his native land, he helped fellow Scandinavian Saints negotiate the sometimes turbulent process of adaptation and assimilation—both within Mormonism and within American society.

Lund was born on 15 May 1844 in Aalborg, Denmark, a son of unmarried parents Ane Christine Andersen and Henrik Jensen Lund. Ane lived with her mother and stepfather during Anthon's babyhood, a household that also included aunts and uncles.³ Ane died when Anthon was four, and his father was drafted into the war with Prussia over the provinces of Schleswig-Holstein. Grandmother Gjertrud Laursdatter Jensen Nielsen provided love, comfort, and stability.⁴ Although she was illiterate, Gjertrud recognized Anthon's innate intelligence and gave him an excellent education, even though, in his autobiography, he termed himself a "peasant" child. His father continued to provide an annual stipend; and probably she used all or part of it for his schooling, beginning at age four, and

Scandinavia (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1957), 104. Mormons made up about 4 percent of the Danish immigration to America between 1820 and 1910. Niels Peter Stilling and Anne Lisbeth Olsen, *A New Life: Danish Immigration to North America as Described by the Emigrants Themselves in Letters, 1842-1946*, translated by Karen Veien (Aalborg, Denmark: Danes Worldwide Archives, 1994), 11-15.

³Den Danske Folkekirke, Aalborg Budolfi Parish, Kirkebøger, Births and Deaths, 1829-1854, 125, microfilm #043,074, Family History Library, Family and Church History Department, Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City (hereafter Family History Library).

⁴Anthon Henrik Lund, *Diaries, 1860-1921*, 15 May 1903, photocopy in my possession, originals in Archives, Family and Church History Department, Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City (hereafter LDS Church Archives); family group sheet of Anders Jensen (1782-1836) and Gjertrud Laursen (1793-1864), and family group sheet of Mads Nielsen (1806-1847) and Gjertrud Laursen (1793-1864), Family History Library.

later for private English lessons. Entering city schools at age seven, the boy was soon “the first of four hundred children.” On being presented at Budolfi Cathedral for an examination at age eleven, he astounded the bishop with his knowledge of English geography. His geography teacher encouraged Anthon to continue his studies, an invitation Anthon declined on the grounds of funds. Later he admitted that what he really “wanted more was to study Mormonism.”⁵

Anthon first heard about the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints at age six in 1850, shortly after its introduction in Aalborg. Mormon missionary George P. Dykes came “proclaiming the gospel in the same way as Jesus did in former time” and declaring that the heavens had once again been opened. Within a few months, the Mormon congregation numbered nearly a hundred believers, among them Anthon’s maternal uncle Jens Anderson, baptized on 15 December 1850. Lund later recalled: “This brought me into contact with the Saints and made me a believer.”⁶ As a child, Anthon investigated the Book of Mormon, visited the Saints, and accompanied his grandmother, who was baptized in 1853, to branch meetings. Each Sunday he visited the branch president, in whose home he read even more. On his twelfth birthday, 15 May 1856, Anthon was baptized.⁷

⁵Anthon H. Lund, *Autobiography*, in Lund, *Diary*, 1860, typescript of English translation in my possession, 2. I am indebted to Henning K. Fredericksen, who transliterated the diary into modern Danish orthography, Kirsten Petersen who provided the English translation, and Jens Christoffersen who coordinated the project. “Chronology of Early Life,” Notebook, Anthon Henrik Lund Papers, MS 1256, Box 5, fd. 1, LDS Church Archives.

⁶“Chronology of Early Life”; Lund, *Autobiography*, 1-2; Andrew Jenson, *History of the Scandinavian Mission* (Salt Lake City: Deseret News Press, 1927), 17, 23; family group sheet of Jens Andersen (1824-1901) and Helvig Nicoline Jensen Overlade (1824-1868), Family History Library.

⁷Lund *Autobiography*, 2; Janne M. Sjødahl, “Apostle Anthon H. Lund,” in *Lives of Our Leaders* (Salt Lake City: Deseret News, 1901), 202-4. This biographical study was first published in the *Juvenile Instructor* 35 (1 November 1900): 705-13, and it forms the basis for most other printed sketches. Revised versions were published in Andrew Jenson, *Latter-day Saint Biographical Encyclopedia*, 4 vols. (Salt Lake City: Andrew Jenson History Company, 1901), 1:161-67; *In Memoriam: Anthon Henrik Lund* (Salt

Although a believer from childhood who could “hardly remember a time when he was not convinced of the truth of the Gospel,”⁸ Anthon had deliberated over his choice. Mormonism had roused hostility in Aalborg; in 1851, the meeting hall had been trashed and the homes of members attacked. Anthon himself occasionally met teachers’ disdain or schoolmates’ ridicule. Uncle Jens emigrated to Zion, leaving Grandmother Nielsen and Anthon as the only believers in the family circle. Other relatives tried to persuade him to abandon Mormonism and pursue a “collegiate course” commensurate with his intellectual gifts.⁹ Thus, he made the decision to be baptized realizing that it “was the most important step for me, and forever I praise the Lord who opened my eyes for the truth.”¹⁰

Just a year later, Anthon, a shy but determined thirteen-year-old, was called on a mission to distribute tracts, teach English to emigrating Saints, and assist the elders. He was so small that, when he reported at his first conference, Elder Christian D. Ejeldsted had to lift him up on a table so that he might be heard. Lund’s fluency in English allowed him to sight-translate articles from the *Millennial Star* and tracts as if he were merely reading aloud in Danish. He was an effective teacher, constantly working to improve his own skills while teaching English to the emigrating Saints and Danish to the American elders.¹¹ On one occasion when he was assigned to sell

Lake City: n.pub., 1921), 3-19; and obituary in *Utah Genealogical and Historical Magazine* 12, no. 2 (April 1921): 65-74. For contemporary accounts, see Bruce A. Van Orden, “Anthon H. Lund: Gentle Danish Apostle,” in *Pioneers in Every Land*, edited by Bruce A. Van Orden, D. Brent Smith, and Everett Smith Jr. (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1997), 163-82; and Jennifer L. Lund, “Anthon H. Lund: Counselor to Joseph F. Smith and Heber J. Grant (1901-1921)” in *Counselors to the Prophets*, compiled by Michael K. Winder (Roy, Utah: Eborn Books, 2001), 260-73.

⁸Sjodahl, “Apostle Anthon H. Lund,” 202.

⁹*Ibid.*, 203-04; Jenson, *History of the Scandinavian Mission*, 27-29.

¹⁰Lund, *Autobiography*, 2.

¹¹Jesse N. Smith, who served a mission to Denmark in 1861, recalled, “I was very kindly and considerately treated by all with whom I came in contact, especially by Elder Anthon H. Lund, who assisted me in my efforts to learn the Danish language.” Jenson, *LDS Biographical Encyclopedia* 1:320; Sjodahl, “Apostle Anthon H. Lund,” 205-6; Jenson, *History of the Scandinavian Mission*, 126; Lund, *Diary*, 27 November 1913.

tracts, none of the elders was willing to accompany "the boy"; but at day's end, Lund, working alone, had sold more tracts than anyone else.¹² At sixteen, Lund was ordained an elder and was appointed president over the Aalborg Branch and traveling elder for five other branches—a significant responsibility for one so young.

At age seventeen, he was ready to leave his homeland nest behind and emigrate to Zion with his grandmother, at least partly to avoid conscription into the Danish army as new tensions mounted over Schleswig-Holstein. Christian Madsen, a respected mentor, would lead one of the emigrating parties. In addition, Petra Pedersen offered to pay his passage in exchange for his assistance and protection on the journey.¹³ On 6 April 1862, they boarded the steamer *Albion* in Aalborg Harbor, crossed the North Sea to Germany, and sailed aboard the square-rigged *Franklin*. Their forty-four-day passage was marred by an outbreak of measles that took the lives of forty-four children and three adults, making it one of the deadliest sea voyages in LDS emigration history. Reaching New York City on 29 May, the party traveled by a combination of rail and steamboat to Florence, Nebraska. Here, after a five-week stay, Anthon and his companions were outfitted with wagons, ox teams, and provisions. Madsen led the independently financed company. Seventy-two days later, on 23 September 1862, they reached the Salt Lake Valley.¹⁴

For Lund, the journey was both physical and spiritual. By emigrating from Denmark to the United States, he passed from "Babylon" or the "world" into the Saints' promised land. Psychologically, his Danish or Scandinavian ethnicity was superseded by his identity

¹²Abraham H. Cannon, Diary, 9 April 1890, photocopy of holograph, Abraham Hoagland Cannon, Diaries, 1879-96, MS 3, Manuscripts Division, J. Willard Marriott Library, University of Utah, Salt Lake City.

¹³Jenson, *History of the Scandinavian Mission*, 160-61; Hans Christensen, *Memoirs*, A140, 12, Utah State Historical Society, Salt Lake City; Lund, Diary, 7 January 1860.

¹⁴Scandinavian Emigration Registers, Book A, p. 105, microfilm #025,696, Family History Library; Jens Weiby, Diary, typescript of translation by Orson B. West, MS 4723, Box 3, fd. 3, 253-333, LDS Church Archives; Conway B. Sonne, *Ships, Saints, and Mariners: A Maritime Encyclopedia of Mormon Migration, 1830-1890* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1987), 78-79; Richard L. Jensen, "From Denmark to Manti: One Man's Experience," *Ensign*, January 1980, 14-19.

as a Latter-day Saint.¹⁵ Tellingly, before his baptism, Lund had refused his grandmother's urging to sit with the other men in the gender-segregated congregation: "Not while I am in Babylon."¹⁶ Even at this early age, Lund distinguished between the Church and Babylon. His youthful attachment to the Church was intensified by the influence of his Uncle Jens, a father figure, who was replaced by missionaries Fjeldsted and Madsen after Jens's emigration. The entire Aalborg Branch became his primary community, and the Madsen home provided a cheery refuge, tales of Zion, and English lessons.¹⁷ Thus, even as a child in Denmark, Lund saw himself as a Latter-day Saint first and as a Dane second.

This dual identity involved a strong association with Americanisms as well, thus leading to rather odd comments about Danish customs when he became Scandinavian Mission president. For example, he was "amused" at the tradition of sending a flower and a comic letter to a friend in the spring, "a custom that I did not know existed in Denmark." Similarly, sleeping "under a featherbed" he termed "a curious custom. But this is general all over Denmark."¹⁸ His surprise at these common traditions show a striking level of disassociation from his own culture. When a pregnant woman asked his advice about whether to refuse her husband sexual intercourse, he counseled her that they should "mutually agree on such matters" but reflected uncomfortably in his diary: "I think women are so curious here. They will talk about things that an american woman would die before she would mention it almost."¹⁹

¹⁵Western historian Patricia Nelson Limerick, "Peace Initiative: Using the Mormons to Rethink Culture and Ethnicity in American History," *Journal of Mormon History* 21 (Fall 1995): 1-29, notes that "the blending of new immigrants into this new Mormon ethnicity seems to have proceeded with remarkable speed" and was reinforced by distinctive LDS doctrines. Lund's experiences in negotiating a dual sense of ethnic identity parallel those of one of Limerick's students, an activist in the Chicano movement who identified himself ethnically as a Mexican American and fourth-generation Latter-day Saint.

¹⁶Lund, Diary, 5 October 1895.

¹⁷*Ibid.*, 17 January 1862; Sjødahl, "Apostle Anthon H. Lund," 204.

¹⁸Lund, Diary, 4 March 1884, 1 November 1884. For other comments on aspects of Danish society as "Babylon," see *ibid.*, 15 April 1885, 17 May 1885, and 5 September 1885.

In other respects, however, Lund celebrated his Danishness. Fish was his favorite meal. He subscribed to Danish newspapers and delighted to hear Danish spoken after long absences. He took special note of the Danish exhibit at the 1893 Chicago World's Fair and was pleasantly surprised to discover a monument to "our Danish sculptor" Bertel Thorvaldsen in Rome. He often described customs or scenery by comparing them to Danish scenes and used examples from Danish history and social life in sermons. Although an ardent Republican, firmly committed to the principles of American democracy, he defended Denmark's brand of socialism with logical arguments.²⁰

In the Salt Lake Seventeenth Ward one Sunday in 1913, Nephi L. Morris delivered a rousing patriotic sermon on America as the land of Adam, conceding that the Norsemen had discovered America but that, according to Welsh tradition, a prince from that country had first founded a colony in the New World. Lund closed the meeting and did not resist the challenge: "I also spoke in the same strain of this being Adam's land and said I was glad that the Welsh could point to some of their people as probable discoverers of America while I also would emphasize that we Norsemen were sure of having done so!"²¹

As a leader among the Scandinavians in the Church, Lund had found a dual but unequal allegiance—first to the Church and second to his cultural roots—that worked for him. He expected all Saints to share a similar outlook and was somewhat baffled by those who did not.

On reaching Utah, Lund's grandmother joined her son in Cedar City, while Anthon settled in Sanpete County. Strangely, Lund had no contact with them for two decades, not even learning of his grandmother's death in 1864.²² Lund settled in Sanpete County, his home for the next thirty-six years, where he worked as a farm la-

¹⁹Ibid., 18 September 1885.

²⁰Ibid., 28 May 1885, 2 June 1890, 17 December 1895, 26 September 1883, 29 May 1893, 3 February 1898, 10 July 1900, 20 August 1902.

²¹Ibid., 20 July 1913. Less proudly, he lamented Denmark's ejection of Mormon missionaries and recorded his sorrow as he watched "the ship carry off the first exile from my native country." Ibid., 4 December 1893.

²²Lund, Diary, 17 September 1892. No records survive of what may have caused this rift.

borer—digging potatoes and threshing wheat. He also repaired harnesses, made shoes, and taught school. He attended the territory's first telegraphy school, then ran the telegraph office in Mount Pleasant with an adjacent photograph gallery and a traveling studio wagon. He also served a term on the Mount Pleasant City Council in his early twenties.

In 1870, just a few days before his twenty-sixth birthday, Anthon married Sarah Ann ("Sanie") Peterson, the beautiful and witty eldest daughter of Ephraim's Bishop Canute Peterson and his first wife, Sarah Ann Nelson Peterson. Family legend recounts that before she would accept his proposal of marriage, Sanie insisted that Anthon promise her two things on his knees: that he would never take a second wife and that she would always be allowed to indulge the Scandinavian fondness for tea and coffee. Lund kept both promises.²³

Canute Peterson was a respected leader of the Scandinavian Saints. In 1842, he had been among the first Norwegian converts in the Fox River settlements near Norway, Illinois, and served an adventure-filled mission in his native Norway (1853-56). He became a bishop in 1867, served as Scandinavian Mission president during the 1870s, and then was stake president for more than twenty-five years in Sanpete County.²⁴ Sanie's mother, also a convert in the Fox River

²³Sjodahl, "Apostle Anthon H. Lund," 213; Herbert J. Barnes Jr., interviews with Herbert Z. Lund Jr., June-July 1978, photocopy of notes in my possession; Paul J. Lund, "Oral History," 9 May 1978, typescript in my possession, 7-8; and Herbert Z. Lund Jr., interviewed by Jennifer L. Lund, 6 May 1990, 5, typescript in my possession. Despite Anthon's promise, Sanie's letters to him during his mission presidency reveal persistent anxiety that he was going to bring home a new wife. Sarah P. Lund, Letters to Anthon H. Lund, 14 September 1883-11 August 1885, typescript in my possession, originals in possession of Ammon Richard Lund, Pleasant Grove, Utah.

²⁴Anthon H. Lund, "Canute Peterson," in *History of Lehi*, edited by Hamilton Gardner (Salt Lake City: Deseret News, 1913), 410-12. For Peterson's mission, see Carrie Peterson Tanner, "The Story of Canute Peterson as Told to His Daughter Carrie," *Instructor* (May 1946): 219-22, 234. See also Keith A. Erikson and Lloyd D. Newell, "'A Gathering Place for the Scandinavian People': Conversion, Retention, and Gathering in Norway, Illinois (1842-1849)," *Mormon Historical Studies* 1, no. 1 (1999):

settlement, proudly claimed to be the second Norwegian born in the United States.²⁵ In his marriage, Anthon Lund found love, support, and strong ties to the LDS Scandinavian community.

Shortly after their marriage, Anthon and Sanie moved from Mount Pleasant to Ephraim to be closer to her family. Lund became manager of the Ephraim United Order Co-op, later opened the Ephraim Furniture Store, specializing in furniture, stoves, carpets, and other household items, and, through perseverance and hard work, became a respected small-town businessman.²⁶

As a sign of the esteem in which his fellow citizens held him, Lund was elected to the first of two terms in the Territorial Legislature in 1885 while he was out of the country and not a declared candidate.²⁷ As a legislator, Lund sponsored educational bills, founding both the Utah State Reform School at Ogden and the Agricultural College at Logan, now Utah State University. Lund ran for a third term in 1891 but was defeated by his Democratic opponent.²⁸

Lund also had a number of other ecclesiastical assignments during the 1860s and 1870s: Sunday School teacher and superintendent, ward and stake clerk, and a member of the Sanpete Stake High Council. He served two missions to Scandinavia, first in 1871 as clerk to his father-in-law Canute Peterson, the mission president, and

21-36.

²⁵Sarah A. Peterson, Letter to Rasmus B. Anderson, 17 April 1895, in Rasmus B. Anderson, *The First Chapter of Norwegian Immigration (1821-1840), Its Causes and Results*, 4th. ed. (Madison, Wis.: Rasmus B. Anderson, 1906), 407, 93-95. Her parents, older brother, and three sisters had participated in the first organized Norwegian emigration to America (1825).

²⁶Sjodahl, "Apostle Anthon H. Lund," 212-13; *Ephraim Enterprise*, 9 December 1891, 4.

²⁷Franklin D. Richards had assured Lund's father-in-law that Lund would be released in time to serve if elected. Sarah P. Lund, Letter to Anthon H. Lund, 12 July 1885, typescript in my possession, originals in possession of Ammon Richard Lund, Pleasant Grove, Utah.

²⁸Sjodahl, "Apostle Anthon H. Lund," 212-14; "Hon. Anthon H. Lund," *History of Sanpete and Emery Counties, Utah* (Ogden: W. H. Lever, 1898), 326-27; Edward Leo Lyman, *Political Deliverance: The Mormon Quest for Utah Statehood* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1986), 173.



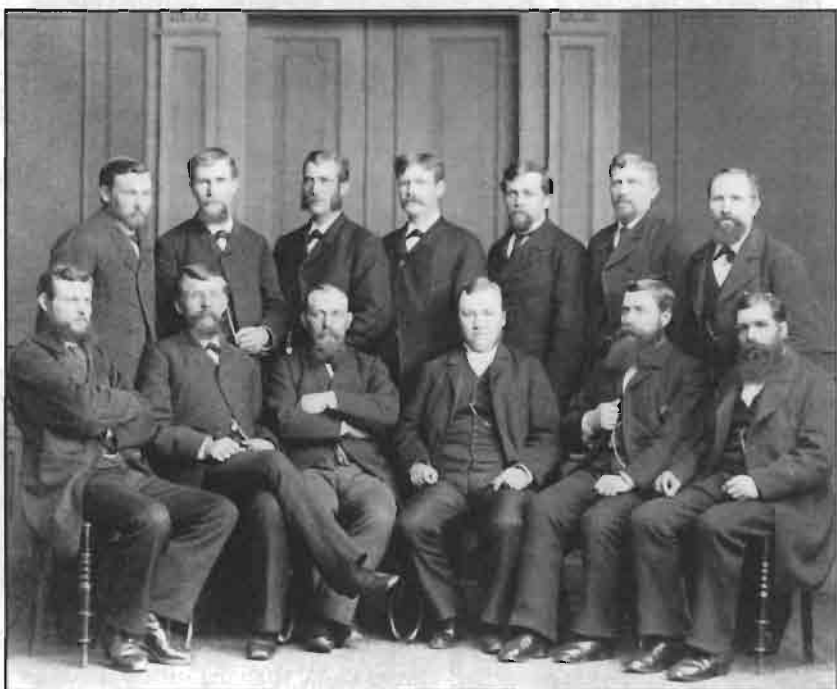
As a young missionary in Copenhagen in 1871, Anthon H. Lund strikes a serious but dapper pose. It is inscribed "To Sanie." Lauritz Olsen, photographer. Courtesy Karen Coulam.

again in 1883, once again with an office assignment as clerk and editor of the *Skandinaviens Stjerne*, to support Christian D. Fjeldsted, the mission president.²⁹ When Fjeldsted was called back to Utah to fill a vacancy in the First Council of the Seventy, thirty-nine-year-old Lund was selected to replace him as mission president. A close friend and confidant, Apostle John Henry Smith, who was then European Mission president, apparently suggested Lund for the post.³⁰ Despite feeling genuinely surprised and "very small for that position,"³¹ Lund accepted the call, writing humbly his father-in-law, "I had not expected this; but will try to do the best I can."³²

²⁹Sjodahl, "Apostle Anthon H. Lund," 212-14.

³⁰In early January, Smith asked Fjeldsted if anyone else in the mission could fill Lund's position, suggesting that Smith was already thinking of Lund as Fjeldsted's replacement. The appointment was made and ratified by the Quorum of the Twelve a month later. Anthon H. Lund, Letter to Canute Peterson, 11 January 1884, photocopy in my possession, original in Peterson Family Papers [ca. 1844-1957], LDS Church Archives.

³¹Lund, Diary, 19 March 1884.



Scandinavian Mission president Anthon H. Lund is third from the left in this group of missionaries in the Aalborg Conference, 1884. Heinrich Tonies, photographer. Courtesy LDS Church Archives.

A little more than a year later, Lund returned to Ephraim. At this point, he and Sanie had five sons ranging in age from fourteen-year-old Anthony to three-year-old Othneil. Between came Henry C., age twelve, Herbert Z. ("Ray"), age eight, and Canute, age six, who would die at age eleven of diphtheria. A daughter, Sarah, had died at nine months in 1876. Three more children would complete the family: A. William (born 1886), George Cannon (born 1891), and Eva Anna (born 1893). In 1888, Lund became a counselor to Daniel H. Wells, president of the newly dedicated Manti Temple and a member of the first Church Board of Education, also founded in 1888. In the fall of 1889, the First Presidency, then consisting of Wilford Woodruff, George Q. Cannon, and Joseph F. Smith, invited

³²Anthon H. Lund, Letter to Canute Peterson, 24 March 1884, photocopy in my possession, original in Peterson Family Papers.

the Twelve to suggest the replacements for the quorum. Heber J. Grant recalled that the apostles "were asked to write the names of three men upon slips of paper . . . and each and every one of those ten men, without consultation with each other, put the name of Anthon H. Lund on their slips of paper."³³

The other two vacancies were caused by Wilford Woodruff's elevation to the presidency in April 1889, Albert Carrington's excommunication for adultery in 1885 and the 1888 death of Erastus Snow—the beloved "Apostle to Scandinavia" who had opened the mission in 1850.³⁴ It is no surprise that a Scandinavian by birth was selected to take Erastus Snow's place.³⁵ A few years earlier in 1883, the Quorum of the Twelve had specifically instructed the First Council of the Seventy to select a Scandinavian to fill the position of John Van Cott who had also been a Scandinavian Mission president. Van Cott's replacement was Fjeldsted, the first Scandinavian-born General Authority.³⁶ When Lund died in 1921, John A. Widtsoe, a na-

³³Heber J. Grant, quoted in "President Lund's Funeral Services," *Utah Genealogical and Historical Magazine* 12 (April 1921): 91. The ten men were nine apostles—Lorenzo Snow, Franklin D. Richards, Brigham Young Jr., Moses Thatcher, Francis M. Lyman, John Henry Smith, George Teasdale, Heber J. Grant, and John W. Taylor—and their counselor Daniel H. Wells. There is no evidence that Lund's monogamy was either a negative or positive consideration, but it probably was not since both Merrill and Cannon, the other new apostles, were both polygamists.

³⁴Mulder, *Homeward to Zion*, 260.

³⁵Wilburn D. Talbot, *The Acts of the Modern Apostles* (Salt Lake City: Randall Book, 1985), 176, 384, specifies that Lund took Snow's seat. While Lund was intended to become the new "Apostle to the Scandinavians," Lund's seating was probably a consequence of age. The new apostles were ordained on the same day in order of age, according to established principles of succession. Marriner W. Merrill was fifty-seven, Anthon H. Lund, forty-five, and Abraham H. Cannon, thirty. Since Snow was the second vacancy and Lund was the second ordainee, it appears that Lund indeed took Snow's place. However, I have seen no contemporary document making this claim, and Talbot is the only secondary source to do so. See also Reed C. Durham and Steven H. Heath, *Succession in the Church* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1970), 100; *1997-1998 Church Almanac* (Salt Lake City: Deseret News, 1996) 40, 44, 47, 50-52.

³⁶See William G. Hartley, "The Seventies in the 1880s: Revelations

tive-born Norwegian, replaced him in the Quorum of the Twelve.³⁷ On 26 September 1889, the Twelve gathered, fasting, in the Gardo House where they made filling the apostolic vacancies "a matter of prayer." Lund, Marriner W. Merrill, and Abraham H. Cannon, "were unanimously chosen."³⁸

However, none of the Utah papers commented on Lund's Scandinavian roots or on his anticipated role as a leader of the Scandinavian Saints. The *Salt Lake Tribune*, which was more interested in the apparent nepotism of calling George Q. Cannon's son (Abraham H.) to the apostleship, described the appointees as "the obscure three."³⁹ Even the *Bikuben*, a Scandinavian language news-

and Reorganizing," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 16 (Spring 1983): 83; D. Michael Quinn, "From Sacred Grove to Sacral Power Structure," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 17 (Summer 1984): 23; and Eugene E. Campbell, *Establishing Zion: The Mormon Church in the American West, 1847-1869* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1988), 156.

³⁷In his remarks at the time, President Heber J. Grant referred specifically to Lund and Widtsoe's Scandinavian heritage. Heber J. Grant, *Report of the Semi-Annual Conference of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*, 3 April 1921 (Salt Lake City: Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, semi-annual), 5-6 (hereafter *Conference Report*). At least one Scandinavian saw the obvious connection, congratulating Widtsoe: "A heavy gloom fell upon the hearts of the Scandinavian Saints at the announcement of the death of our Beloved Brother, Anthon H. Lund, but which has now been removed by your being called to the same position." Ole Gulbrandsen as quoted in Alan K. Parrish, *John A. Widtsoe: A Biography* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 2003), 285-86.

³⁸Abraham H. Cannon, Diary, 6 October 1889; John Henry Smith, Diary, 26 September 1889, George Albert Smith Family Papers, 1731-1969, MS 36, Vol. 14, Marriott Library; *Wilford Woodruff's Journal, 1833-1898*, typescript, edited by Scott G. Kenney, 9 vols. (Midvale, Utah: Signature Books, 1983-84), 9:55 (26 September 1889); Brigham Young Jr., Diary Excerpts, 26 September 1889, Smith Research Associates, *New Mormon Studies* CD-ROM, 1998.

³⁹"General Conference: Third Day," *Deseret Evening News*, 7 October 1889, 2; "The Twelve Is Filled," *Salt Lake Tribune*, 8 October 1889, [4]; "Our Cautious Aristocracy," *Salt Lake Tribune*, 9 October 1889, [2]. The *Deseret Evening News*, in a more gracious editorial, referred to the three new apostles as "exemplary, talented and experienced" men "of such a calibre and spirit that they are likely to work in full harmony with their brethren."

paper, was silent concerning Lund's Scandinavian roots, only briefly mentioning his appointment as a routine matter of conference business.⁴⁰ Lund, however, was very aware of his position. At a quorum meeting the following year, he explained that he "did not wish his brethren of the Apostles to feel that those of the saints who had co[m]e to this land from Scandinavia were any dearer to him than any of the other saints. He loved the people of the Lord without regard to what land they had come from."⁴¹ This declaration established the first principle of his apostleship: he did not intend to be an apostle to the Scandinavian Saints alone, but to the entire Church. The second and similar principle became important during the next two decades as Swedes, Danes, and Norwegians contended over leadership and national identity. Lund, who had chosen the Church over his ethnic identity in boyhood, never wavered from his belief that the Scandinavian Saints must be united—that national partisanship would lead only to animosity.

However, this development was still in the future. When Anthon Lund took his place among the Twelve, "Scandinavian unity seemed so complete," according to the Scandinavian Mission president, Edward H. Anderson, "'the young people in Zion do not know there are three nations in Scandinavia.'"⁴² By 1890, 26,000 Scandinavian Mormons had emigrated, nearly half of them from Denmark.⁴³ Utah's 1890 census showed 16,863 Scandinavian-born residents,⁴⁴ many of them concentrated in Sanpete, Sevier, Cache, and Box Elder counties. Many communities hosted a "Scandinavian

Journal History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (chronological scrapbook of typed entries and newspaper clippings, 1830-present), 8 October 1889, 2, LDS Church Archives.

⁴⁰"Conference: Third Day," *Bikuben*, 17 October 1889, 1.

⁴¹Heber J. Grant, Diary Excerpts, 1887-1899, 1 October 1890, on Smith Research Associates, *New Mormon Studies*, CD-ROM, 1998.

⁴²Edward H. Anderson, "Scandinavia," *Contributor* 12 (December 1890): 109, quoted in Mulder, *Homeward to Zion*, 251.

⁴³William Mulder, "Mormons from Scandinavia, 1850-1900: The Story of a Religious Migration" (Ph.D. diss., Harvard University, 1955), 214. These figures do not include children under age eight.

⁴⁴Census Office, Department of the Interior, *Report on Population of the United States at the Eleventh Census: 1890*, Part 1 (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1895), 607, 687, 690, 691.

Meeting” where the Saints could hear sermons and music in their mother tongue. When the congregation was mixed, services and leadership rotated among the three national groups. Bands, choirs, and dramatic clubs provided amusements; and foreign language newspapers like the *Bikuben* in Danish-Norwegian and *Svenka Härelden* in Swedish, offered news, literature, and a running commentary on life in Zion.⁴⁵

Special Scandinavian meetings were often convened in conjunction with ward and stake conferences and a grand gathering was typically held in the Assembly Hall twice a year immediately after general conference. Lund preached, often in Danish, at hundreds of these Scandinavian meetings throughout the territory. When not on assignment, Lund generally attended the local Scandinavian Meeting in Salt Lake City in addition to services in his own Seventeenth Ward. His sermons are sprinkled with praise and affection for the Scandinavian Saints; however, they typically emphasized the basic principles of the gospel and the need for ever greater faithfulness—the same messages which he preached everywhere else, including in general conference. Time and time again, he admonished “the Saints that if they came here for the sake of serving God then they would find Zion here, but if the motive for coming was not to serve God but hope alone of bettering there [sic] conditions they would find enough to try and to tempt them.”⁴⁶

Lund’s countrymen celebrated Norwegian Constitution Day in May, followed by Danish Constitution Day on 5 June, the arrival of Mormon missionaries in Copenhagen on 14 June, and the Swedish Midsummer Festival on the summer solstice. Individuals were feted

⁴⁵Mulder, *Homeward to Zion*, 200, 256-64.

⁴⁶Lund, *Diary*, 17 August 1919. My survey of Lund’s general conference sermons shows that he always addressed a general audience, not just the Scandinavian Saints. He routinely reported on progress or problems in the Scandinavian Mission, but did so with missions in Germany, the Netherlands, Japan, and elsewhere. To be sure, he could address Scandinavians exclusively in their meeting, usually held immediately following general conference. However, his reluctance to publicly align himself with the Scandinavian Saints is consistent with his commitment not to be an apostle to the Scandinavians alone. *Conference Reports*, April 1898-October 1920; Brian H. Stuy, ed., *Collected Discourses*, 3 vols. (Sandy, Utah: B.H.S. Publishing, 1988), 2:26-27.



Anthon H. Lund, chairman of the Scandinavian Jubilee Celebration, is in the front row with Sanie on his right. This photograph of the arrangements committee was taken at the Saltair pavilion, 15 June 1900. Photographer unknown. Courtesy LDS Church Archives.

on birthdays and at funerals, and Scandinavians attended community reunions throughout the territory.⁴⁷ Lund was seldom involved in planning such events but frequently attended as an honored guest and invariably spoke as a major part of the program.

An exception was the 1900 jubilee of the Scandinavian Mission opening in 1850. He chaired the six months of preparations, which culminated in four days of sermons, testimonies, concerts—including original compositions—excursions to Lagoon and Saltair, and the publication of the *Scandinavian Jubilee Album* paying tribute to the missionaries who had preached in Scandinavia over the last fifty years. Of the sixteen converts from 1850 or earlier who were still

⁴⁷For examples of such celebrations, see Lund, *Diary*, 17 May 1909, 5 June 1899, 12 June 1910, 23 June 1899, 11 December 1920, 22 October 1911, 18 June 1892.

living, nine were able to attend the ceremonies where they were recognized with badges, seats of honor, and invitations to speak. The first to be honored was Canute Peterson, then seventy-six. He joined other early missionaries in recounting his proselyting experiences in the Sunday morning meeting. Lund recorded in his diary his feelings as "friends from all parts of Zion met, and many saw one another for the first time since their arrival."⁴⁸ The congregation pledged itself to raise funds to build meetinghouses in Copenhagen and Stockholm. (Christiania, now Oslo, Norway, already had a suitable meetinghouse.) The First Presidency and Twelve had, only days earlier, authorized the purchase of land in Copenhagen. One of the first contributions toward the meetinghouse's construction came from the sale of the *Jubilee Album*.⁴⁹

In addition to presiding over Scandinavian public life in the Church, Lund also used his special expertise in Scandinavian matters in a variety of ways. In 1891, the First Presidency appointed him to recruit Scandinavians to the Republican Party as part of the Church's efforts to move Mormons into the national parties. Lund went straight to the offices of the Scandinavian language newspapers where, he recorded with satisfaction, he was able to sway the loyalties of one editor who "was rather democratic." Lund made several preaching tours over the next fourteen months which were, in part, political missions to garner support for the Republicans among the traditionally Democratic Mormons.⁵⁰

Despite his enthusiasm for recruiting new Republicans, Lund was chagrined after returning from a trip to Idaho in 1900 to learn that a Sanpete delegation had championed his name at the Republican county convention and was coming to Salt Lake City, deter-

⁴⁸Ibid., 16 June 1900. See also entries for 9 November 1899; 6 January, 16 March, 11 and 26 April, 2, 23, and 25 May, and 1, 13-18 and 27 June 1900; J. M. Sjodahl, "An Estimate of the Scandinavian Jubilee," *Improvement Era* 3 (August 1900): 747-55; *Journal History*, 14 June 1900, 6; Anthon H. Lund, Andrew Jenson, J. M. Sjodahl, and C. A. F. Orlob, eds., *Scandinavian Jubilee Album, 1850-1900* (Salt Lake City: n.pub., 1900).

⁴⁹*Journal History*, 14 June 1900, 2-3; Andrew Jenson, *Autobiography of Andrew Jenson* (Salt Lake City: Deseret News Press, 1938), 400.

⁵⁰Lund, *Diary*, 1 June 1891; Lyman, *Political Deliverance*, 174-75. For examples of political preaching, see 16 April 1892, 20 August to 18 October 1892; and "Chester's Here and There," *Ephraim Enterprise*, 9 March 1892.



President Lund, seated, poses with Oluf J. Andersen, associate editor of the Skandnaviens Stjerne, in Copenhagen on 2 August 1909, during a tour of the European missions. Emil Clausen, photographer. Courtesy Carroll A. Lund.

mined to secure his nomination in a special election to the U.S. House of Representatives. Lund's supporters argued that he would attract "many democrats" as well as "a large Scandinavian following who would vote for one they esteemed so highly."⁵¹ Lund promptly declined the nomination on the grounds that it was "unwise" to elect a Church official: "I would consider it bad policy for a man in my position to accept the Congressional nomination at this time. . . . Were I elected to Congress, it would be practically impossible for me to open my mouth upon any important question without the cry of church influence being raised against me."⁵²

⁵¹Lund, Diary, 27 February 1900; "Apostle Lund's Boom," *Salt Lake Tribune*, 26 February 1900, 8; and "Discuss Lund's Boom," *Salt Lake Tribune*, 27 February 1900, 8.

⁵²"Lund Not a Candidate," *Salt Lake Tribune*, 28 February 1900, 8; Lund, Diary, 27 February 1900. The House of Representatives had recently rejected polygamist B. H. Roberts of the First Council of Seventy for this very seat. Supporters hoped that Lund, a monogamist, could successfully compel Congress to recognize a Mormon official's right to serve at that

Lund also provided leadership for the Scandinavian business community. When Peter O. Thomassen, editor and owner of the Danish-Norwegian *Bikuben*, died suddenly in November 1891, Lund stepped in to save the paper by organizing a group of literary-minded friends into the Bikuben Publishing Company. He was elected president and immediately requested financial aid for the paper from President Wilford Woodruff. Woodruff was "much annoyed" to be bothered with "money matters" but agreed that preserving the paper was vital to Church interests.⁵³ Unfortunately, the paper was never able to sustain itself, even after being taken over by the Church in 1893, and Lund, who continued to have "charge of the paper" despite long absences on missions, was forced to make repeated requests for financial assistance.⁵⁴ Despite mismanagement by editors and shrinking subscription rates, Lund was committed to the paper's essential role in the Scandinavian community and vigorously defended it. He rather weakly assured President Lorenzo Snow in 1900 that, although the paper's circulation had diminished, "they now had more live subscribers."⁵⁵

In addition to supervising the *Bikuben*, Lund also edited two mission periodicals, the *Skandnaviens Stjerne* and the *Millennial Star*.

level. Utah's Secretary of State James T. Hammond had already announced his intentions to seek the Republican nomination, and the *Tribune* felt that he could not be beaten. (Democrat William H. King defeated him.) Lund was interested in politics but had already turned down a private attempt to enter the Senate race in 1898: "Even if I knew that I could be elected I would dislike to have the job. It would be very unpleasant for one of my position." Lund, Diary, 27 August 1898; Thomas G. Alexander, "Political Patterns of Early Statehood, 1896-1919," in *Utah's History*, edited by Richard D. Poll, Thomas G. Alexander, Eugene E. Campbell, and David E. Miller (Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University Press, 1978), 415.

⁵³Lund, Diary, 17 November 1891.

⁵⁴*Ibid.*, 26 March and 13 June 1897; Jenson, *Autobiography of Andrew Jenson*, 390-91.

⁵⁵Lund, Diary, 12 January 1900. Publication ceased in 1935 when all Church-sponsored, Utah foreign language periodicals were discontinued. Reasons cited included ebbing immigration, decreasing readership due to aging readers and the availability of other publications, and increasing costs. Thomas L. Broadbent, "The Salt Lake City *Beobachter*: Mirror of an Immigration," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 26, no. 4 (October 1958): 348.

This experience with writing, translation, and printing made him an ideal candidate to retranslate and revise Church publications in Danish. Lund had a great facility for languages, leading Bishop Charles W. Nibley to quip that Lund "was the only man in [the] church who could keep his mouth shut in seven different languages."⁵⁶ Lund revised the Danish translations of the Doctrine and Covenants (1900), the Book of Mormon (1902), the hymn book (1906), and the Pearl of Great Price (1909). He completed most of the Doctrine and Covenants alone but received extensive assistance on the other projects from fellow Danes Andrew Jenson and C. C. A. Christensen. He also helped Jenson revise his *Joseph Smith's Levnetsløb* ("History of Joseph Smith") which Jenson and Johann A. Bruun had published serially between 1877 and 1879.⁵⁷

Lund also represented the Church in greeting dignitaries and at official functions involving Scandinavian guests.⁵⁸ Within the Church, he was commonly, although not exclusively, given assignments with a Scandinavian connection. He often suggested possible mission presidents or other leaders and regularly advised or made decisions about the affairs of the Scandinavian missions.⁵⁹ He championed the construction of the Copenhagen meetinghouse, helped secure Church funds to mark the grave of a faithful Saint in Göteborg, and helped his countrymen secure employment.⁶⁰

In 1893, the First Presidency called Lund as European Mission president, a position requiring supervision of all the European missions as well as direct oversight of the British Mission. From his

⁵⁶George Cannon Lund Sr., *Memoirs*, 1, photocopy in my possession, original in possession of Helen L. Lund, Washington, Utah. Joseph Fielding Smith repeated a similar version of this joke in "President Anthon H. Lund," *Young Woman's Journal* 32 (April 1921): 192.

⁵⁷Lund, *Diary*, 13 August 1898, 2 February, 3 December 1900, 16 October 1903, 10 May 1905, and 29 October 1908; Chad J. Flake, ed., *A Mormon Bibliography, 1830-1930: Books, Pamphlets, Periodicals, and Broad-sides Relating to the First Century of Mormonism* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1978), 55, 129, 214, 493; Jenson, *History of the Scandinavian Mission*, 50, 400; Jenson, *Autobiography of Andrew Jenson*, 94-106, 405-6.

⁵⁸Lund, *Diary*, 31 December 1900, 7 April 1901.

⁵⁹*Ibid.*, 25 January 1896, 16 March 1901, 27 October 1918.

⁶⁰*Ibid.*, 5 January 1899, 21 April, 23 June, 31 July, 11 October 1900, 23 October, 31 December 1901.

headquarters in Liverpool, Lund worked congenially with the presidents of the Scandinavian Mission—Carl A. Carlquist (1893-94), and Peter Sundwall (1894-96). During his three years of service, Lund made two extensive tours in Scandinavia where he was greeted with affection as “the Scandinavian Apostle.” Arriving at Göteborg, Sweden, in 1895, he entered a crowded hall to find a large photograph of himself hanging over the stand. He confided in his diary, “I was pleased to see that the Saints think that much of me.”⁶¹

On occasion, Lund’s ability to negotiate conflict with “an unusual combination of gentleness” and firmness⁶² brought him challenging assignments involving Scandinavian Saints. In July 1900, the First Presidency asked him to temporarily assume the position of Church Historian left vacant by the death of Franklin D. Richards. Andrew Jenson, then assistant Church historian, noted with satisfaction that Lund was one of “only two members of the quorum of the Twelve who had historical ability.”⁶³ Jenson did not realize, however, that his old friend and fellow Dane had been called to this assignment specifically to temper Jenson’s great enthusiasm for Church history and to foster improved relations among the office staff, who had floundered without a leader for seven months. President Lorenzo Snow instructed Lund to “take hold gradually and try to reconcile the parties.”⁶⁴ Lund’s temporary assignment became permanent, and he spent the next twenty years counseling Jenson, defending him to his detractors, and smoothing ruffled feathers.⁶⁵

⁶¹Lund, Diary, 28 September 1895; Jenson, *History of the Scandinavian Mission*, 332-44.

⁶²James E. Talmage, as quoted in “President Lund’s Funeral Services,” 84.

⁶³Andrew Jenson, Journal, 26 July 1900, LDS Church Archives.

⁶⁴Lund, Diary, 25 July 1900; Journal History, 25 July 1900, 1; 26 July 1900, 1; Historian’s Office Journal, 26 July 1900, LDS Church Archives; Lorenzo Snow, George Q. Cannon, and Joseph F. Smith, Letter to the Brethren and Sister employed in the Historian’s Office of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 25 July 1900, Circular Letters, First Presidency Collection, CR 1/1, Box 1, fd. 2, LDS Church Archives.

⁶⁵See Lund, Diary, 12, 15 October, 1, 28 November 1900; 13 November 1906; 3 August, 22 October 1912; and Jenson, Journal, 7 October 1900; 10 December 1906; 17 September 1908; 29 March 1913; 22 January 1917; 11 January 1921. See also Louis Reinwand, “Andrew Jenson,

On 17 October 1901, a few days after Lorenzo Snow's funeral, Lund attended a meeting of the Twelve in the Salt Lake Temple. Joseph F. Smith expressed the need to appoint a Trustee in Trust and the "brethren all felt impressed" to reorganize the First Presidency at once. Brigham Young Jr. nominated Joseph F. Smith as President of the Church. Smith then named as his counselors John R. Winder and Anthon H. Lund. Lund was "heartily congratulated" by his brethren in the quorum. Marriner W. Merrill commented, "I feel Bro. Lund is just the man for the position, and the great numbers of Scandinavians will be so pleased in his call."⁶⁶ And so they were. After a meeting in Brigham City three days later, Lund was the guest of honor at a dinner attended by "many Danes," who "all seemed to feel honored in my call."⁶⁷ Beginning immediately, Lund met daily with the other members of the First Presidency in their office attached to the Beehive House. The office was arranged to accommodate their work as a council with a table in the center and individual rolltop desks around the perimeter. Jointly, they reviewed and answered correspondence, received visitors, deliberated on policies and programs, and counseled Church members. On Thursdays, the First Presidency joined the Quorum of the Twelve in the Salt Lake Temple for a weekly council meeting and prayer circle. Despite his new responsibilities, Lund still went to the Historian's Office each morning where he worked for several hours before proceeding to the office of the First Presidency around 11:00 A.M. Board meetings were often scheduled for the afternoon. He received numerous assignments, including positions on the board of directors of Church-associated businesses and honorary government posts as a regent at the University of Utah and as a member of the Capitol Building Commission. In 1910, Lund was also appointed a counselor to Joseph F. Smith in the Salt Lake Temple presidency; in 1911, he became its president.⁶⁸

Latter-day Saint Historian," *BYU Studies* 14 (Autumn 1973): 29-46.

⁶⁶Lund, Diary, 17 October 1901.

⁶⁷*Ibid.*, 20 October 1901.

⁶⁸Despite the large numbers of Scandinavians in Utah, temple ordinances were not routinely presented in Scandinavian languages during Lund's lifetime. New immigrants did not usually seek their endowments immediately and therefore had learned to speak English. Lund notes the first time he performed a sealing ceremony in Danish (because the bride

Lund served in the First Presidency for nearly twenty years as both second (1901-10) and first (1910-18) counselor to Joseph F. Smith and as first counselor (1918-21) to Heber J. Grant. These were years of both change and challenge. As a counselor in the First Presidency, Lund was intimately involved with the expansion of Church education, the construction of a Church headquarters complex, initial attempts at correlation of the auxiliaries, the standardization of Church doctrine through the publication of books like James E. Talmage's *Jesus the Christ*, the publication of the *History of the Church*, and the construction of the first twentieth-century temples outside of Utah. He also endured with his colleagues the four years of hearings attempting to unseat Senator-Apostle Reed Smoot. Related challenges were continuing conflict over plural marriage, turmoil on the Utah political scene, ridicule in the national and international press (some aimed directly at Lund), concern over the teaching of higher criticism and evolution at Church schools, and World War I, in which his youngest son served.⁶⁹

Despite his wide-ranging responsibilities on this broader level, Lund continued to fulfill the role of "Apostle" to his Scandinavian countrymen. In fact, his position in the First Presidency only increased the number of people looking for advice, the ceremonial positions he was asked to fill, the decisions which must be made, and the problems to be solved.

But the most difficult situation was growing conflict among the three Scandinavian national groups. In 1900, Mormon Danes outnumbered Swedes and Norwegians two to one. The Swedes chafed at the dominance of Danish-Norwegian language and culture. Led by Otto Rydman, the feisty editor of the Swedish *Utah Korrespondenten*, a faction of Swedes demanded separate meetings, cultural activities, and Swedish leadership.⁷⁰ The dispute rapidly became intensely personal.

was a recent immigrant). Lund, Diary, 9 November 1910; 25 January 1911. According to Richard O. Cowan, "History of Latter-day Saint Temples from 1831-1990," *Encyclopedia of Mormonism* (New York City: Macmillan Publishing Company, 1991), 4:1452, temple ceremonies were first offered in a foreign language (Spanish) in 1945 in the Mesa Temple.

⁶⁹For a comprehensive review of Church administration during these years, see Thomas G. Alexander, *Mormonism in Transition: A History of the Latter-day Saints, 1890-1930* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1986).

Rydman had launched his independent Swedish language newspaper in 1890. He also founded Norden, a literary society that sponsored a variety of cultural and recreational activities for the Swedish Saints. Church leaders rebuffed Rydman's requests to use meetinghouses for Norden activities, and he was particularly incensed when they refused to permit traditional Julotten celebrations, a tradition of the Swedish Lutherans, in chapels on Christmas morning. He retaliated in his paper, using his sharp pen and satirical wit to ridicule the authorities. He became particularly vicious about the all-Swede editorial staff of the Church-sponsored Swedish *Utah Posten*.⁷¹ Rydman apparently believed they had betrayed their Swedish countrymen by supporting Scandinavian unity among Mormons.

The situation escalated in 1902 when Rydman ran cartoons accompanied by verses that left little doubt about the subjects' identity. Among those lampooned were the *Utah Posten* staff, along with Janne M. Sjudahl, also a Swede and president of the Salt Lake Scandinavians. Anthon Lund himself may appear in two cartoons of three buffoons titled "Fat, Fatter, and Fattest." One author believes the three represent Laurentius Dahlquist of the *Posten* staff, Janne Sjudahl, and Lund.⁷² Lund does not mention this incident or other Rydman lampoons in his diary.⁷³ By August, at least two of Rydman's

⁷⁰Mulder, *Homeward to Zion*, 251-52.

⁷¹*Utah Posten* was founded in 1900 by the Scandinavian Publishing Company, replacing the *Svenska Härelden*, another Swedish newspaper closely aligned with the Church, which folded in 1892. Mulder argues that its demise, in part, was due to Rydman's "livelier" writing and more pertinent news. The Church purchased the troubled *Posten* in March 1902 and managed it until 1935 when all Utah-based, foreign language newspapers were discontinued. Lund, Diary, 6-8 March 1902; Mulder, *Homeward to Zion*, 264-65.

⁷²Ernest L. Olson, "Otto Rydman, Satirist: An Immigrant Editor's View of the Scandinavian Scene in Utah" (M.A. thesis, University of Utah, 1949), 54-55. The three are depicted from the rear in simplistic caricature, so no facial features are visible. Olson bases his identification on the accompanying verses. "Fat, Fatter, Fattest," *Utah Korrespondenten*, 13 June 1902, 4; "Fat, Fatter, Fattest," *Utah Korrespondenten*, 20 June 1902, 4.

⁷³Olson, "Otto Rydman, Satirist," 49. Rydman attacked Lund directly. Tomte (pseud.), *Korrespondenten*, 26 June 1908, claimed that "all true saints," led by such "great saints" as "an apostle Lund," opposed

victims, Frans S. Fenstrom and Laurentius Dahlquist of the *Posten*, wrote a letter to Rydman's bishop accusing the editor of "unchristenlike [unchristianlike] conduct in publishing false and malicious Cartoons and articles against us and other members of the Church and also for ridiculing and criticizing men holding official positions in the Church, thereby causing divishion [division] and better [bitter] feelings among the Swedish Saints."⁷⁴ They also charged Rydman with disobedience to the priesthood. Rydman was tried and excommunicated, an action that inflamed a faction of Swedish Saints who supported Rydman's calls for separating the nationalities. In November 1902, they held "a mass meeting endorsing Rydman's action and [sent] a petition to the First Presidency demanding separate meetings"; they also asked for a review of Rydman's case.⁷⁵ This problem landed right in Lund's lap. On the evening of 19 November, he "waded through the voluminous papers in the Rydman case" and concluded that Rydman had shown little regard for his membership in the Church, had claimed "the right to criticize the priesthood," had "abused his brethren" in the gospel, and had ridiculed President Smith; but "his worst offense is splitting up the people."⁷⁶ Three days later, the First Presidency affirmed Rydman's excommunication.⁷⁷

Probably the First Presidency hoped that this decision would silence Rydman and end Swedish separatism. They allowed the petition of the Swedish Saints to languish for months. When the authors demanded an answer in the spring of 1903, Lund spent several days working on an official response for the First Presidency which was published in the *Deseret Evening News* on the third day of general conference. Lund repeatedly pled for unity but also responded to many of the charges leveled in the petition. He showed that, contrary to the petition's claims, Swedes actually held the greater proportion of leadership positions in the Scandinavian or-

Swedish Midsummer festivals. Tomte also describes an advertisement, "L.D.S. Midsummer Day, Lagoon, June 24," which he interprets as "Lund-Dahlquist-Sjodahl's Midsummer Day." Ibid., 36.

⁷⁴*Utah Korrespondenten*, 8 August 1902. Rydman published a photomechanical reprint of the letter in his paper along with a transcription (with spellings corrected).

⁷⁵Lund, Diary, 3 November 1902.

⁷⁶Ibid., 19 November 1902.

⁷⁷Ibid., 22 November 1902.

ganizations. He endorsed the need to learn English and become good citizens and pointed out the folly of separate national meetings which would divide many intermarried families. (Sanie Lund was a Norwegian.) He also pointed out that the rebellion was localized primarily in Salt Lake City among marginal Saints. Furthermore, all Saints stood on an equal footing before God. Quoting the Apostle Peter that "God is no respecter of persons," Lund counseled:

All persons who have sincerely received the Gospel, be they Swedes, Danes, English, Germans or those of any other nationality are equally dear to us and we value highly their fellowship in our grand brotherhood. This being our feeling we deprecate the attempt to build walls of separation between Saints from different countries and fanning into flame the dying embers of former national hatreds. Any influence that leads to division and strife is not of God and should be carefully guarded against. The characteristic of the disciples of Christ is oneness. He says, "Except ye are one, ye are not mine."⁷⁸

Rydman continued to carp, and the Swedish separatists sent a second petition in response to the First Presidency's statement.⁷⁹ President Smith expressed his disgust by arguing that "the best thing would be to stop national meetings all together."⁸⁰ Although Lund waited almost a year before answering this second petition, he was committed to these associations, labored conscientiously to calm the unrest, met regularly with stake and Scandinavian leaders, and was open to reform efforts. They seriously considered creating separate Scandinavian meetings but discarded the idea because of the strength it would give secular organizations like Norden and the Danish Brotherhood, which also sponsored cultural and recreational activities.⁸¹ Once the Swedish rebellion had died down, how-

⁷⁸First Presidency, "To the Swedish Saints," *Deseret Evening News*, 4 April 1903, 5.

⁷⁹*To the First Presidency of the Church . . . in regard to the Swedish Petition* (Salt Lake: n.pub., 1903); copy in the Historical Library, Family and Church History Department, M251.5, T627, 1903.

⁸⁰Lund, Diary, 10 July 1903.

⁸¹*Ibid.*, 13 March 1904. Separate meetings for national groups were instigated in the mid-1920s under the direction of John A. Widtsoe, who inherited Lund's Scandinavian apostleship. Rulon S. Wells announced at an overflow meeting at April conference in 1925 that "the foreign Latter-day Saints, residing in the six stakes of Salt Lake City and vicinity,

ever, Lund opened the way for exclusively Swedish meetings to be held as part of the larger Scandinavian meetings. In the Thirteenth Ward, for instance, Friday nights were set aside solely for the Swedes.⁸² He also reorganized Salt Lake City's one large Scandinavian association, creating smaller groups under the jurisdiction of the individual stake presidencies to give the Scandinavian units a closer relationship to ecclesiastical authority.⁸³ In what was, no doubt, a pointedly symbolic gesture of support for and reconciliation with the Swedish Saints, Lund arose early on Christmas Day 1907 and attended the Julloten celebration at 6:00 A.M. with the Swedish Saints of the Thirteenth Ward.⁸⁴

Although the Church's resistance to nationalist divisions among the Scandinavians was always couched in religious terms, the problem was much larger. For centuries, the Scandinavian nations had seen a movement toward a political, cultural, and economic union. Usually called "Nordism" or "Scandinavianism," the movement was revitalized in the mid-nineteenth century as a protection against the threat of German encroachment. The earliest Scandinavian converts, like Lund, had grown up in this movement, happily recognized their common bonds of language and culture, and were grateful to meet together as Scandinavian Saints in their shared faith. The next generation, however, witnessed the breakdown of Scandi-

have recently been reorganized and consolidated into one separate organization for each separate nationality. That is, one for the Danes, one for the Swedes, one for the Norwegians," with an umbrella organization comprising all three, and also "one for the Swiss and Germans and one for the Dutch, making six organizations altogether." Their purposes were to teach the gospel in the individual languages to facilitate learning and to bring these immigrant Saints in closer relationship with the "presiding authorities." Rulon S. Wells, *Conference Report*, 5 April 1925, 92. A similar challenge continues in the Church today, with an ever-increasing foreign-speaking membership in certain parts of the United States. Are ethnic Saints better served by integration into English-speaking wards, or by having language units where they have more service and leadership opportunities? See Jessie L. Embry, "Ethnic Groups and the LDS Church," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 25 (Winter 1992): 81-97.

⁸²Lund, Diary, 26 January 1906.

⁸³Ibid., 9 November 1904, 24 March 1905.

⁸⁴Ibid., 25 December 1907.

navianism in their homelands and chafed against its continued implementation by the Church. Rydman, an emigrant of 1888, belonged to this generation. In Scandinavia, political alliances broke down, the Swedish-Norwegian kingdom split, and the Norwegians, who had once enthusiastically accepted a standardized orthography called Dano-Norwegian, adopted a brand-new and distinctively Norwegian orthographic system. Because of the continuing conversion and emigration of Saints from Scandinavia, this reactionary movement against Scandinavianism played itself out half a world away in the heart of Zion.⁸⁵

Although the Swedish rebellion was the most strident among the Saints, nearly a decade later conflict among nationalities briefly arose once again; this time the Norwegians were the malcontents. Lund negotiated to keep the peace and was apparently successful, although some celebrations were held separately.⁸⁶ Lund expressed hurt and sometimes exasperation with these different perspectives. Following a meeting with Scandinavian leaders in the Ensign Stake who wanted to create a "Swedish Presidency," he noted: "I was sorry for they are men I love; but they want to make a strong Swedish organization."⁸⁷ He was particularly dismayed after a "spirited" Scandinavian meeting in the Assembly Hall in 1910 when a woman greeted him: "Well Brother Lund if they have put our Danish Flag below the others we have you, and that means that we are on top." Such a comment was an insult to one who had worked so hard to "avoid any national feelings."⁸⁸ In Lund's perspective, those who championed their national identity saw the gospel, not as a net gathering Saints into the kingdom of God, but merely as a line bringing

⁸⁵Byron J. Nordstrom, *Dictionary of Scandinavian History* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1986), 417-19; Anne-Lise Seip, "Nation-Building Within the Union: Politics, Class and Culture in the Norwegian Nation-State in the Nineteenth Century," *Scandinavian Journal of History* 20 (1995): 35-50; Oscar Hemer, "The Bridge to a New Scandinavianism," *Nordisk Litterature 2000*, 15-18, translated by Alan Crozier and reprinted in *Newsletter of the Danish American Heritage Society* 47 (January 2001): 4-5. Rydman himself wrote an article decrying "Scandinavianism." See Olson, "Otto Rydman, Satirist," 23.

⁸⁶Lund, Diary, 7 May 1913, 8 February 1914.

⁸⁷Ibid., 29 March 1907.

⁸⁸Ibid., 13 June 1910.

them to America. They were not "Pagtens Folk" or people of the covenant.

Anthon H. Lund died on 2 March 1921 at age seventy-six. During his ministry of more than thirty years as the "Scandinavian Apostle," he had provided compassionate and steady leadership to thousands of LDS converts from the North. He was a man of intelligence and wisdom, tempered by kindness, gentleness, and good humor. At his funeral, John A. Widtsoe, then president of the University of Utah and soon to be his successor in the apostleship, praised his leadership among the Scandinavian Saints:

To these adopted children of America he was a father in very deed. He understood them; he understood the isolation that surrounds, for a time at least, every man who leaves his mother tongue, the traditions of his childhood, and in a new country adopts a new language and a new mode of living. Those among us of Scandinavian origin will miss sorely the good counsels and the sympathetic understanding of President Anthon H. Lund.⁸⁹

The "good counsels" and "sympathetic understanding" of this "Scandinavian Apostle" were vivified by a vision of a united church, unmarred by national feeling. He labored long to support, defend, encourage, and direct his fellow countrymen, while at the same time attending to the needs of the entire Church. "President Lund, who had a love for all humanity, resting upon a love for God, was greater than national lines and national boundaries," noted Elder John A. Widtsoe at the dedication of a monument to Lund in the Salt Lake Cemetery. "He became a man of universal sympathies and world-wide love; and while he remembered his native country, he lived in a greater realm, he lived in behalf of God's great cause on the earth."⁹⁰ The Scandinavian Saints felt honored that one of their own was called to the First Presidency and showered him with love and admiration. Yet the strongest legacy of this "Scandinavian Apostle" was of a religious brotherhood and sisterhood, enriched by but standing above, national differences.

⁸⁹John A. Widtsoe as quoted in "President Lund's Funeral Services," *Utah Genealogical and Historical Magazine* 12, no. 2 (April 1921): 78.

⁹⁰John A. Widtsoe, quoted in "Program Rendered at the Unveiling of the President Anthon H. Lund Monument," 17 August 1924, typescript in my possession.

JOHN D. T. McALLISTER: THE SOUTHERN UTAH YEARS, 1876-1910

Wayne Hinton

THE NINETEENTH-CENTURY Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints in Utah took its direction from its president, his counselors, the Quorum of Twelve Apostles, and other General Authorities; but it ran on the local officials: the stake presidencies, their high councils of twelve men, and the bishoprics of the wards. These men were usually individuals of considerable political, economic, and social prominence. John Daniel Thompson McAllister, a Church and civic leader in southern Utah for thirty years, was such a local leader, serving as St. George Stake president, as an assistant to President Wilford Woodruff at the St. George Temple, and as president of two temples.

Prerequisites for being called to such positions were unques-

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tioned loyalty and obedience to the Church and the General Authorities. Nearly always, they had personal friendships with most; in some cases they were also related to them. In nineteenth-century Utah, a marker of such loyalty was frequently their commitment to the practice of plural marriage. In addition, they had to be able to command the loyalty and obedience of the people over whom they presided.

John Daniel Thompson McAllister, who was baptized into the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints in the Delaware River, near Gloucester, New Jersey, on 12 October 1844,¹ is one of many important but little-known figures in Mormon history. He was a pioneer, a family man, civic leader, and Church leader in southern Utah for thirty years—from his arrival at St. George in October 1876 until his release as president of the Manti Temple in September 1906—and to some degree, even until his death at St. George in January 1910. He usually commanded respect. He was capable of being stern on occasion, and he could be somewhat intimidating with his resonant voice (he was known for his singing), his large physical presence, his zeal, and the authority that came with the natural influence of his callings. His personality was marked by the demonstrated loyalty that brought him to the attention of the General Authorities, his central role in the community's political and economic affairs, and his energetic and dedicated obedience to the directives of his leaders, even when that obedience required the subordination of some of his own interests.

Although a full-length biography of this devoted Saint is long overdue, this article is an overview of his life, with emphasis on

¹John Daniel Thompson McAllister, *Journals*, typescript prepared in 1980 by Lucile M. Weenig, 162; photocopy in possession of Carolyn S. Hinton; hereafter cited as *Journal Typescript* or parenthetically by page number in the text. The original is in the possession of Dale McAllister, Walsburg, Utah, with a copy in L. Tom Perry Special Collections, Lee Library, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah. Weenig has occasionally added clarifying information in parentheses and a three-page foreword; all other deviations from the original consist of typographical errors or transpositions of numbers, which I have corrected after consultation with the original. Although McAllister often did not punctuate or capitalize words at the beginnings of sentences, his spelling is generally good. After his mission to Belfast Ireland, his punctuation improved.

the St. George years. Civic and ecclesiastical records, in addition to documents created by his relatives and contemporaries, would reveal much about McAllister, but I here give primary attention to his journal. He was not unaware of his role and his station, and he kept careful journals which are an invaluable source of knowledge and understanding of his life's work. This diary reveals that McAllister was at the center of a large network of acquaintances and associates. It spans 1 November 1852 to 15 December 1906 in seven volumes. He titled his journal "Record of Me and Mine," indicating that he was writing mainly for himself and his family. One wishes that he had been more introspective and less "strictly business" in his entries or provided more details on events that he records only in outline. It is readily apparent that he often consulted official documents to record the precise dates, times, and participants of various events. Three areas seem to stand out in his writings and life: his determined commitment to polygamy, his devotion and contributions to temples and temple work, and his devotion to his family.

MCALLISTER'S YEARS BEFORE 1876

McAllister was born 19 February 1827 in Lewis, Sussex County, Delaware, to William J. F. McAllister and Eliza Thompson. In 1828 the family moved to Philadelphia where John attended Christ Church Sabbath School, a Presbyterian establishment. His mother had a lively interest in religion and regarded herself as a faithful "Christian." John's father was a believer, but more an Easter and Christmas attender than a regular communicant. John launched his strenuous work-life at age eight by folding newspapers for the *Saturday Courier*, and later working as a "roller boy" and "flyer" for a book publishing company. Before his twelfth birthday, John was sent to live with Delaware farming relatives where he learned blacksmithing and carpentry,² skills he continued to find useful. The next year, Mormon missionaries found the family and seventeen-year-old John was baptized by Albert Lutz on 12 October 1844 despite his father's resistance. In fact, his father objected so strenuously that John, on 14 March 1877, had his mother sealed as a posthumous plural wife to Brigham Young with his brothers and sisters sealed as their "adopted" children. In an ironic attempt to humiliate his dead father

²Journal Typescript, 161.

*John D. T. McAllister in
Salt Lake City, ca. 1852*



but to include him in an eternal family, McAllister had him sealed as an “adopted” son to his mother and Brigham Young.³

On 5 July 1847, at age twenty, John married Ellen Handley in Philadelphia, the first of his nine wives. In September 1848 John, Ellen, and their infant son Moroni joined the displaced Saints at Kanesville, Iowa, where John spent the next three years working as a blacksmith and clerking in a store. On 1 July 1851, the family departed from Winter Quarters in Alfred Cordon’s fifty-wagon train, arriving in Salt Lake City three months later to the day.⁴

³In 1954, officers in the McAllister Family Organization corrected this highly unusual arrangement in accordance with contemporary LDS policy, sealing John’s parents to each other, each to his/her own parents as a child, and their children to them. At the same time, irregularities in the sealings of John to two of his nine wives who had children by previous marriages were straightened out. Weenig supplies this information, *ibid.*, 54. It also appears on family group sheets in possession of Carolyn S. Hinton.

⁴McAllister, ordained an elder at Kanesville on 20 June 1851, was

*Ellen Handley McAllister*

McAllister promptly found employment for his carpentry skills on the Old Tabernacle being built where the Assembly Hall now stands. He later built mills for the Church and even taught school briefly in the Salt Lake Eighth Ward. Soon he began building homes and buying and selling lands, transactions that brought him a margin of financial comfort. In the spring of 1853, McAllister was ordained a Seventy and called on a mission to England, serving in Wiltshire and Land's End, and then, from November 1854 to March 1856 as president of the Belfast Ireland Mission (162, 9).

Released in 1856, McAllister was assigned to captain one of the five handcart companies leaving from Iowa, a group that included the ill-fated Willie and Martin companies. At Iowa City, he was reassigned to take charge of the Commissary Department, and Daniel D. McArthur, later his counselor in the St. George Stake presidency, took his place. McAllister distributed supplies to the companies and those in camp awaiting departure. He was so busy in the store "that I could not find time to journalise" between 4 June and 5 August

(13). He also wrote the spritely "Handcart Song," with its rousing chorus "For some must push and some must pull . . . / Until we reach the Valley-O!" In early August, he went to Florence, Nebraska, where a month later he joined Franklin D. Richards's party of twelve returning missionaries who left on 3 September by wagon. McAllister was thus among the group that brought word to Brigham Young in October 1856 of the potential disaster awaiting the Willie and Martin companies (13, 16).

Dealing simultaneously with the Utah War crisis, Young immediately (4 October 1856), commissioned McAllister to raise a militia company. He was then elected major of cavalry for the Great Salt Lake Military District. From mid-August to early December 1857, McAllister, along with Lot Smith, Robert T. Burton, Warren Snow, and Orrin Porter Rockwell, launched guerilla raids against Johnston's Army to cut its supply lines, torch wagons, rustle livestock, and burn the grass.⁵ Their efforts so successfully stalled the army that it waited out the winter in Wyoming at Camp Scott while McAllister helped fortify Echo Canyon (165). Perhaps because of this previous military experience, McAllister was elected brigadier-general of militia in southern Utah in 1877.⁶

An accomplished musician, McAllister wrote songs, played in bands, sang solos, led congregational singing at general conference (he sang "Do What Is Right" as a solo in October conference 1862), and participated in the early Salt Lake City Dramatic Association (6-7). Following up on his earlier love for theater, McAllister was active in the St. George Dramatic Association, helping select casts and working on production (165). In 1886, under the direction of visiting Apostle Wilford Woodruff, a special combined high council and bishopric council meeting in St. George took up the issue of frivolous and immoral amusements, unanimously voting to raise their voices against theatrical productions, dancing, horse racing, etc., activities that had "a tendency to immorality" (90). Ironically, McAllister, the drama enthusiast, now as loyal stake president, was obliged to denounce dramatic productions he had earlier sup-

⁵Thomas G. Alexander, *Utah: The Right Place* (Salt Lake City: Gibbs Smith, 1995) 129; typed by Emily Gillins, "Sullivan Ancestry Family History, pt. 6, p. 17, photocopy of typescript in possession of Carolyn S. Hinton. McAllister also discusses his military activities, Journal Typescript, 20-21.

⁶Gillins, "Sullivan Ancestry Family History," pt. 6, p. 17.

ported. Three years later, however, he led efforts to revive the Dramatic Association. These alternating positions can be traced to President John Taylor's conviction that the Saints needed to concentrate on the threat caused by the federal "Raid" against polygamy by forgoing various forms of entertainment and asking Wilford Woodruff, then president of the Twelve who was hiding in St. George, to head up the movement there. Both Woodruff and McAllister followed their leader's request. By 1889, however, Taylor had died and Woodruff, as the new president, encouraged attempts to bridge many gaps separating Mormon culture and society from the broader national scene. Because he had no objection to plays, the theater-loving McAllister enthusiastically embraced the opportunity to reinstate dramatics in southern Utah.⁷

From 1860 to 1862, he served a second mission to the Eastern States, then served as territorial marshal (1863-70), Salt Lake City marshal (1866-76), and chief of the Salt Lake City Fire Department (1871-76) (6, 11, 161). Until February 1876, when he was appointed foreman of the woolen mill, McAllister also served as clerk of the Endowment House. On 16 September 1876, Brigham Young, feeling that McAllister's carpentry skills were needed in St. George, called him to work on its temple (50).

MCALLISTER AS POLYGAMIST

At this point, McAllister had seven wives. On 3 January 1857, Brigham Young had instructed him, "It is time to marry one of the many young ladies who have come to the valley for the gospel." McAllister replied, "I am very happy with Ellen and my little family and I am reluctant to enter into the responsibility of marrying another wife and becoming a polygamist." Young simply repeated that "it was time to marry one of the young ladies who recently came to the valley." Obediently, six days later the twenty-nine-year-old McAllister asked the stepfather of sixteen-year-old Angeline Goforth for permission to marry her. They were married on 11 January 1857 at the McAllister home with Ellen as a witness and were sealed a month later.⁸

⁷Thomas G. Alexander, *Things in Heaven and Earth: The Life and Times of Wilford Woodruff, a Mormon Prophet* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1991), 241-42.

⁸[no author], "Family of John D. T. McAllister and Angeline

*Angeline Goforth, ca.
1860*



McAllister's next four marriages were clearly prompted by motives of generosity and compassion. In April 1867 Ellen and Angeline gave consent for McAllister's third marriage, a union arranged by the bride's father, Martin Lenzi, whom McAllister had known in Philadelphia. His twenty-three-year-old daughter, Cornelia Agatha, had been left deaf at age twelve by mumps, and he saw this marriage as a way to secure her future.⁹

On 5 November 1871, McAllister was sealed to his fourth wife, Alvina Mackley, a thirty-one-year-old widow with a daughter, Allia, who died at age three, but was sealed to McAllister as his child. The courtship was so short that only Ellen was aware of the impending marriage.¹⁰ Two days later, McAllister was sealed to a fifty-year-old

Sophronia Goforth," 23 October 1887, 179; McAllister family group sheets in possession of Carolyn S. Hinton. McAllister and Ellen had been sealed 6 March 1852 in the Endowment House. McAllister and Angeline were sealed on 13 February 1857.

⁹Annie Hall, "History of Cornelia Agatha Lenzi McAllister," typescript, 1920, 3-4; McAllister family group sheets.

¹⁰[no author], "Family of Alvina Mackley, Fourth Wife of John D. T.

*Alvina Mackley McAllister*

divorcée, Ann Davis Hailstone, who requested that her nine children, only five of whom were still alive, be sealed to McAllister as his own.¹¹ She was a strength to the entire family with her unselfish devotion.¹²

On 4 December 1873 McAllister was sealed to Margaret Ann Fackander, a sixty-four-year old spinster, who would otherwise have lacked an eternal companion. They appear to never have lived to-

McAllister," typescript, 191; McAllister family group sheets.

¹¹Ann had been sealed to her first husband, William Hailstone, although divorce terminated her union with him. By Church policy, children born under the covenant cannot be resealed; so in 1954, these children's sealings to McAllister were cancelled.

¹²[No author], "Ann Davis Hailstone and Family," typescript, n.d., 5; McAllister family group sheets. John recorded this evaluation of Ann by his son Moroni, with which he agreed, when Ann died, Journal Typescript, 3 January 1903, 153.

gether as husband and wife, although McAllister provided for her financially.¹³

McAllister's seventh wife, Matilda Christina Nielsen, was born in Denmark in 1855. She was twenty-one years old when she married forty-nine-year-old John D. T. McAllister on 28 August 1876. They had thus been married only a few weeks when McAllister was sent to St. George, and she accompanied him south. She had personal motivations. Her brother lived in St. George, and it seemed to be an opportunity to spend time alone with John. She harbored notions of romantic love that his other wives, even those who had not married him for economic or theological reasons, apparently were careful not to assert in the interests of harmony in the family. She began teaching him to speak Danish, an activity that has come down in the family as a ploy to divert his attention to her.¹⁴

Believing that his assignment would last for a few months only, John made living arrangements for his wives, then left with Matilda on 9 October, arriving in St. George 21 October 1876.¹⁵ McAllister and Matilda stayed first in the home of John's brother, William, until he returned from a mission in March 1877. They then moved into "the shanties," temporary, low-cost housing that the Church provided for the temple workmen (53).

At that point, the temple, which had been under construction since 9 November 1871, was near completion. McAllister recorded his first impressions: "It is splendid, beautiful, and heavenly." He went right to work putting cloth on frames for the veil room and also as screens for the initiatory rooms, laying carpet, and preparing the seats. Groups of women sewed drapes and the veils as well as

¹³[no author], "Margaret Ann Fackander and Family, Sixth Wife," typescript, n.d., 1; McAllister family group sheets.

¹⁴Lenzi Sullivan (grandson), interviewed by Wayne K Hinton, 5 June 1993; [no author], "Family of John D. T. McAllister and Matilda Christina Nielsen," n.d., 7; McAllister family group sheets; Journal Typescript, 51.

¹⁵McAllister's and Ellen's daughter, also named Ellen, had married Nephi Sheets, who accompanied them as teamster, driving teams and wagons provided by Nephi's father, Elijah F. Sheets, bishop of Salt Lake Eighth Ward, and Harrison Sperry, bishop of Salt Lake Ninth Ward (51). Angeline and her five children moved in with Ellen at the "home place." Cornelia and Alvina were living together at Pleasant Cottage, while Margaret Fackander and Ann Davis Hailstone also shared a house.

making temple clothing. When Brigham Young arrived on 1 November for his usual winter's stay in St. George's mild climate, Erastus Snow assigned McAllister to meet Young's entourage and escort the party, which included Wilford Woodruff and George Q. Cannon among others through the temple (52).

Young urged more intense efforts so that much of the temple would be ready on 1 January 1877 for a dedication of the baptistery in the basement, the washing and anointing area on the main floor, sealing rooms on the ground floor, and the endowment room on the first floor above the main level. When Woodruff performed the first baptisms for the dead on 9 January 1878, Young appointed McAllister as recorder (53).

On 24 February, while McAllister was attending to his recording duties, Brigham Young stopped by to inquire what he intended to do when the temple was finally completed. McAllister replied that he would do whatever Brigham Young told him to do (53). Six weeks later, he found out what his leader had in mind when April general conference was held at St. George in conjunction with the dedication of the temple. John D. T. McAllister was sustained as president of the St. George Stake, ordained a high priest, and set apart as assistant to the temple president, Wilford Woodruff.¹⁶

McAllister now considered himself a permanent resident of St. George and sent for Ellen and Cornelia, who arrived on 30 August 1877, with Ellen's teenage daughter and Cornelia's four children (55-56). Two months later, McAllister sold the residence formerly occupied by Cornelia and Alvina, and deeded Fair View Place, the home formerly occupied by Ellen, to her son, Moroni. This arrangement gave McAllister a place to stay when he attended general conferences, conduct stake business, and make purchases for his families (61, 63).

On 21 August 1877, McAllister recorded:

A very special day. It began at the Temple as usual. 682 baptism for

¹⁶Thomas Jefferson Jones and Henry Eyring were McAllister's counselors in the stake presidency (54). Ten years later in April 1887, these counselors were released because Eyring was going to Mexico and were replaced by Daniel D. McArthur and David H. Cannon. The stake presidency was released on 16 December 1888, and McArthur replaced McAllister as stake president (95, 102).

the dead. Myself 170, Wilford Woodruff 21, Joseph Hammond 226, and A. P. Winsor 225. On this day I was baptised for all the dead presidents of the United States except Martin Van Buren and Jas. Buchanan. On August 22 I received endowments for General George Washington and Sister Lucy B. Young received Endowments for Mary Ball, Washington's Mother. I was also ordained a High Priest for Washington. On Thursday 23, I received Endowments for Millard Filmore. I also acted for Augustine Washington and my wife, Ann, for his 1st wife and for his 2nd. Mary Ball, George Washington's mother in the sealing. Ann also acted for Maria Fackrell who was sealed to John Washington, great-grandfather of George. I was also baptised for Daniel Park Custin [sic] and John Park Custin, sons of Martha and her first husband. I was also ordained a High Priest for Benjamin Franklin, on this day. (55-57).

A few weeks later at October general conference in Salt Lake City, Wilford Woodruff made the first public reference to these events that are now part of the revered story of Mormon temple work.¹⁷

Possibly because of strained financial circumstances, it was not until twenty months after McAllister's multiple calls to St. George leadership that he began building homes for his wife. The first (called "Temple Lot Home"), constructed between January and June 1879 north of the temple, became the home for Cornelia and her four children ranging in age from seven to eleven. Matilda, who gave birth to her second child in May 1879, moved back to Salt Lake City the next year.

A year later on 23 December 1880, the fifty-three-year McAllister was sealed to twenty-five-year-old Ann Eliza Wells. She lived in the home of John's brother until March 1883 when he purchased a home for her (55, 130). Almost two years later on 30 September 1882 he was sealed to Ann Moller, a divorcée who had not been sealed to her first husband. Twelve years his senior, she and her daughter by this first marriage lived in Cedar City. Although John provided for her financially, he seldom mentions her in his diary, they apparently never lived together, and she continued to reside in

¹⁷For a more complete discussion of the Woodruff-McAllister activities in regard to these famous baptisms and Woodruff's conference report, see Brian H. Stuy, "Wilford Woodruff's Vision of the Signers of the Declaration of Independence," *Journal of Mormon History* 26, no. 1 (Spring 2000): 64-90.



*John D. T. McAllister, ca.
1880*

Cedar City until her death in May 1896 (66, 72). After 1880, Alvina, between frequent visits to Salt Lake City, lived in the house on the southeast corner of the temple block (168).

The decade of the 1880s was an ordeal for polygamists. In 1879, the U.S. Supreme Court had, in the Reynolds case, upheld the constitutionality of the Morrill Act, which had been followed by more stringent legislation and the conviction of Rudger Clawson in 1884 for illegal cohabitation. The Edmunds Act (1882), stiffened by further provisions in 1887, made cohabitation a misdemeanor which could be punished by a maximum fine of \$300 and imprisonment for six months. It also allowed judges to exclude potential jurors who practiced or believed in polygamy. Any polygamous man or any woman married to a polygamist was made ineligible to hold elective or appointive office. It vacated all registration and election offices in Utah Territory, to be replaced by five federally appointed commissioners to supervise Utah elections. Judges of the Utah Supreme Court mounted a judicial crusade in the summer of 1884 to find, arrest, and convict all Saints practicing polygamy, but especially leaders with plural wives.¹⁸

So disgusted were the Saints with the attitude of Republican administrations from U. S. Grant to Chester A. Arthur on the polygamy issue, that on 7 November 1884 when Democrat Grover Cleveland was elected U.S. president, St. George citizens celebrated with gunfire, bands, flags, a torchlight parade, and several exuberant speeches (79). The Raid, however, continued.

According to Jacob Bastian's letter to James G. Bleak, McAllister's stake clerk, McAllister advised the Saints to "know as little as possible about the movements of our brethren, or their families, the God who delivered us in times past will deliver us at present and in the future." Some felt the suffering was to purify their hearts and to teach them to depend upon God. Erastus Snow counseled, "Let us all protect ourselves as best we can—being wise as serpents and harmless as doves. Bend before the storm rather than break—after the storm cometh the sunshine. We'll wait till the clouds roll by."¹⁹

By the end of 1884, McAllister, who had been set apart in Logan in June at president of the St. George Temple, was keenly aware of the possibility of arrest. He began spending his nights in the St. George Temple, which had the advantage of a night watchman (73, 80, 83). In January 1885, Wilford Woodruff joined him in self-imposed exile. In addition to hiding in the temple, Woodruff also lived secretly with the William Atkin family about ten miles south of St. George. He returned to Salt Lake City in August 1884 but spent another eleven months in St. George (August 1886-July 1887), alternating between the Atkin home and the room fixed for his comfort at the temple.²⁰

In January 1885, McAllister tried to conceal his domestic arrangements by having Matilda and her three daughters, ages three to seven, move into the W. W. Smith home in St. George, while Ann Eliza, who had two children, ages three and one, began living with her parents (70). This arrangement also assured that no two wives lived together, a recommendation of the First Presidency. When the temple's heating system needed repairs in February 1885, McAllister

¹⁸Alexander, *Utah: The Right Place*, 192; Wayne K. Hinton, *Utah: Unusual Beginning to Unique Present* (1988; reprinted, Sun Valley, Calif.: American Historical Press, 2000), 86-87.

¹⁹Andrew Karl Larson, *I Was Called to Dixie* (Salt Lake City: Deseret News Press, 1961), 624.

²⁰*Ibid.*, 634-35.

continued to spend cold nights there, feeling it a better alternative than cold nights at the Sugar House Territorial Prison (80).

Staunchly, two months later, he wrote to his wives and children testifying of God's great work in establishing the "Order of the Priesthood, Celestial Marriage, or plurality of wives" (80). Nevertheless, both because of the strain and also because of jealousy of Ann Eliza, Matilda asked in June to "go to herself," a euphemism for divorce. Although McAllister tried to persuade Matilda to change her mind, he finally agreed to a separation and purchased a home which he deeded to three of their children with the stipulation that Matilda was to live in it as long as she desired. Matilda still insisted on a complete divorce, so McAllister requested a bill from President John Taylor. The divorce became final in January 1886.²¹ Matilda moved to Salt Lake City, then returned, dissatisfied, to St. George.

Another glimpse of McAllister's commitment to Mormonism occurred when William H. Hennefer, a suitor for Angeline's daughter, Eliza Thompson ("Thompie") McAllister, wrote John on 24 January 1887, asking for her hand. Although a Mormon, Hennefer was not regarded as temple worthy. McAllister replied, "I cannot consent to any of my children being married outside the temple, or house of God" (91). The marriage had already been performed a week earlier; and when McAllister learned this news, he was so angry and grieved that he demanded that all of his eight wives and twenty-two children be present at Cornelia's St. George home the next month on 19 February, his sixtieth birthday, to hear his letter to them, read by Ellen's son Moroni. Two of the children could not be present, so the letter was also read at Ellen's home in Salt Lake City.

McAllister began with a firm statement of faith: "I have done some good in this life, and have learned there is no gift greater than the gift of Salvation. To be Saved in the Kingdom of God is the greatest of all the gifts of God. This has been the object of my life, for I can truly say, on this I have been employed from my youth." By "prayer, faith, and works" and God's help he had overcome "things forbidden by the Lord" that "were begotten in my nature," for which he praised God. He asked his wives and children to "for-

²¹"Family of John D. T. McAllister and Matilda Christina Nielsen," 7; McAllister family group sheets; Journal Typescript, 51, 81-83, 96, 99, 102, 130.

give me my trespasses, whatever they may have been, my offences, or my violation of rule."

He asserted that "God" and "the Authority of the Holy Priesthood" had given him his wives, that he had never had sexual relations with any other woman, and that he wanted his posterity "to the latest generation" to marry "in God's way, being Sealed by him who has the authority for Time and for all Eternity in a Holy Place dedicated for such purposes." He bore a ringing testimony: "I have been true to God, true to his servants the Holy Priesthood, true to the church and Kingdom of God, true to my covenants, true to my wives and children, my delight has been to listen to the still small voice of the Spirit of God and when his servants chided, I never talked back." He demanded, "Can you honor me as your husband, and father?"

Then he came to the painful reason for the meeting. "I am not ashamed of any of you. I have been sad, when acts not becoming Saints have come to my notice, and prayed your Father to have mercy and lead you all by his own right hand." He expressed concern for "Daniel, Mary, James, Richard, and Jane" who were old enough to marry but had not yet married and instructed his sons to introduce their sisters "to honorable men, Latter Day Saints, . . . and do the works of Abraham." He quoted at length from Abraham's covenant and from Doctrine and Covenants 132, both of which were used as support for plural marriage, supplemented by other scriptures enjoining obedience on the Saints and excluding the disobedient from fellowship. He made no threats, but his meaning was clear.

He concluded his letter by instructing them to make copies and circulate it so that everyone in the family could read it "and all sign it so that I may have the same for my journal." He concluded with an eloquent and solemn father's blessing: "My heart is with you, my life for you. God bless you, and I bless you as the head of my family in all that is right for me to say and do in the name of Jesus, for time and eternity, with every good thing Earthly or Heavenly" (91-93).

Angeline, who had given her consent for Thompie's marriage to Hennefer, felt that she had been publicly chastised, even though the letter did not refer specifically to Thompie's marriage. She wrote McAllister on 8 October 1887: "I will not longer accommodate our marriage. I demand a bill of divorce." Apparently John McAllister's feelings were still intense, for he merely responded tersely, "I am granting your request and will write to President Woodruff to send divorce blanks." They signed the papers on 23 October and returned

them to President Woodruff the next day (99). Although contemporary Mormons would probably look askance at a divorced temple president or stake president, nineteenth-century wives in plural marriages were readily granted divorces with little or no adverse consequences to the husband's church standing and callings.²² However, the strains of plural marriage, no doubt exacerbated by the tensions of the Raid, continued to plague McAllister. When Alvina, who had insisted on moving back to Salt Lake City in July 1891 learned that McAllister was planning to bring Cornelia to October general conference with him, she "manifested a very bad spirit" (112).

Whatever McAllister's personal sufferings, he had no questions about the rightness of the Church's course. After attending general conference in October 1885, held for the second year at Logan, he returned to St. George and gave what he called "a proper talk" against federal laws prohibiting polygamy (81). The First Presidency had installed a telegraph line on 22 January 1885 at Cornelia's home to give faster warning of federal marshals (82). Church leaders were traumatized in February 1886 when Apostle George Q. Cannon was arrested in Nevada (83-84). Very few General Authorities attended April conference in 1886, held at the newly completed Provo Tabernacle. McAllister, who gave the opening prayer, excoriated "the enemies of God's Union," then quickly left to avoid the federal marshals. When they stopped the train he was on and searched it car by car, McAllister fled and, despite muddy roads, snow, and rain, completed his journey south using borrowed horses and wagons (88).

He had barely arrived before being summoned back to Salt Lake City in early May by the First Presidency for a series of meetings on completing the Salt Lake Temple (discussed below). He found matters to be "rather desperate," he wrote in his journal. The meetings were held "very quietly and unobtrusively in private residences" with President John Taylor communicating only through secret messengers (86). Once again McAllister returned home by team and wagon to avoid federal patrols on the trains.

When McAllister provided food and shelter in November 1886 to Apostle Brigham Young Jr. and six other prominent polygamists, their determination to go toward Mexico intensified the sense of

²²Eugene E. Campbell and Bruce L. Campbell, "Divorce Among Mormon Polygamists: Extent and Explanations," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 46, no. 1 (Winter 1978): 4-23.

crisis. As a result of this experience, John Taylor had McAllister call a meeting at St. George to prepare for the polygamists' "defense and self preservation," as McAllister put it (88). By 23, January 1887 when word arrived that marshals were again on their way to St. George, the brethren rallied and made provisions for one another's security. At least forty St. George men were on the marshals' list. Many went into hiding, and others kept bedrolls, food, and water ready so they could leave at a moment's notice. Many wives were sent elsewhere or adopted other names. Some families began moving to Mexico. Warning systems and lookouts were increased. The use of secret messages was arranged. Children were coached in how to turn aside the marshals' questions. Still, another sweep through the area in January 1887 netted four men, while their wives and a couple of children were subpoenaed as witnesses.²³ McAllister once again spent most nights and many days hidden in the temple (89).

On 3 March 1887 when McAllister learned that Grover Cleveland had allowed the punitive Edmunds-Tucker Act²⁴ to become law without his signature, he felt that it was "Depriving the Latter Day-saints of every right dear to American citizens because of their religious convictions." The Saints would be at the mercy of federal marshals, attorneys, judges, and the Utah Commission (91). Because the law declared the children of polygamous marriages illegitimate, the First Presidency advised polygamists in April to immediately make wills and deed their property to their families so that the children of their plural wives would not be disinherited. This was a step that McAllister had already taken (93).

The raids now intensified. No village escaped attention. On 24 August 1887, federal deputies raided tiny Toquerville, nineteen miles east of St. George. Bishop F. W. Jones heard the lead deputy threaten to "get McAllister if he had to follow him to hell" (97). McAllister immediately went into hiding at remote Pine Valley. Sev-

²³Larson, *I Was Called to Dixie*, 628.

²⁴This act authorized the territorial courts to confiscate the Church's property in excess of \$50,000, repealed suffrage for women, repealed the common-law prohibition against wives testifying against their husbands, required a public record of all marriages, dissolved the Perpetual Emigrating Fund and the Nauvoo Legion, transferred control of the public schools to a supreme-court appointed commissioner of education, and required presidential appointments for all territorial probate judges.

eral days later, he and David H. Cannon traveled secretly to Salt Lake City for meetings to which they had been summoned by Wilford Woodruff to discuss the rapid formation of a new First Presidency. One purpose was to consolidate internal support and resolve opposition to George Q. Cannon's remaining in the First Presidency. Two days after his arrival, McAllister, who was staying with Ellen, learned that federal marshals were looking for him and, after midnight, moved into the home of artist Danquart A. Weggeland. Two days later, he went to his son John's. The next day, he took refuge with "Brother Wedell," who, at 4:00 A.M. took him and Cannon to Bluffdale where they caught the train (94). A few days later, McAllister received a clipping from a Salt Lake City newspaper: "All efforts to capture a prominent citizen of St. George . . . had proven futile" (95).

Nine months later in June 1888, McAllister was on the lam again. He was presiding over St. George Stake's quarterly conference when he learned that a deputy marshal had come into town and driven straight to Cornelia's house. Having searched in vain for McAllister, he subpoenaed the deaf Cornelia, her thirteen-year-old son, and two daughters, ages eleven and seven. McAllister took refuge in the home of Sara A. Church until dark, then slipped into the temple (100).²⁵

The next day the deputy served a subpoena on McAllister's former wife, Matilda. McAllister sent Ann Eliza to Pine Valley under an assumed name and stayed in the temple for a week, until the deputy was gone. Many other families, like McAllister's, were torn and disrupted by the anti-polygamy crusade. The deputies had succeeded in capturing others, and still others, like David Cannon, McAllister's counselor in the stake presidency, surrendered to stand trial (98). The court appearance for Cornelia, her children, and Matilda was a prolonged ordeal. Ordered to appear in early September, they made the 110-mile trip to Beaver by buggy. The judge did not show up at the session in Beaver and they were ordered to return on 3 December where they were forced to testify about their family relationships before a grand jury.

On 27 September, McAllister received a letter informing him

²⁵Sara Church, a widow at the time of this incident, had come to St. George in 1862 with her husband where she sang in the choir and was a director of the Ladies Co-op Store established in 1875. Larson, *I Was Called to Dixie*, 257.

that he and his counselors would be released as the stake presidency in December (100). He recorded the information but made no comment on it. McAllister had served for over eleven years and had the second demanding position of temple president; but although he does not say so, it seems likely that the relentless pursuit by federal marshals was a contributing factor in his release. He had been forced to cancel tours of the stake, could not travel openly to Salt Lake City to confer with the General Authorities, had missed the last three sessions of the June 1888 stake conference, and had a counselor under arrest.

Perhaps he had a feeling that his own arrest was inevitable. In March 1889, although he knew U.S. marshals were in town, he attended the afternoon session of stake conference and, in a reckless show of bravery or foolhardiness, he spoke for an hour and ten minutes (101). He escaped arrest on this occasion; but three months later, after visiting Ellen, who was gravely ill, in Salt Lake City, was arrested at Milford when he was returning by train. After posting bail of \$1,500 with a property bond, he was released, only to be rearrested and taken to Silver Reef, a mining town twelve miles north and east of St. George with a population that was more than 90 percent non-Mormons, to answer another complaint for illegal cohabitation. Once again he was released on his property bond. When Ellen died in early August, he was "ill and unable to travel." He commented simply, "Ellen was a virtuous and faithful woman," but made no other comment. Given his illness, the need to prepare for his trial, the reopening of the temple, and the death of Ann Eliza's father simultaneously, he probably felt nearly overwhelmed by events (103-6).

McAllister attended the September 1889 session of court in Beaver with Cornelia, Ann Eliza, Matilda, and witnesses David H. Cannon, Thomas Hall, and George Worthen. He calls the three-day trial a "terrible ordeal" for his family, but the jury deliberated only half an hour before acquitting him. Witnesses had lapses of memory, the prosecution produced no records, Matilda's testimony after 1886 was irrelevant, and Cornelia's deafness proved an insuperable obstacle ("she did them no good") in answering questions from the prosecution although she deftly "did well" on cross-examination from the defense attorney. The defense, under the direction of McAllister's attorney, James H. Moyle, also made a strong case for persecution: two arrests for the same offense, two property bonds,

three young children being required to go to Beaver twice, and requiring young children to testify before a grand jury of things to which they had no salient knowledge. Judge James A. Miner also gave rulings on various objections and legal interpretations that made it difficult for the prosecution to prove its case (107). McAllister thus avoided the usual sentence of six months in prison and a \$300 fine, easing within a few months to fine and court costs only and no jail time.

A year later, the Church took the long-deferred step of announcing the Manifesto, withdrawing public support for new plural marriages at October 1890 general conference. McAllister recorded his diary: "At Conference this day the official declaration signed by Prest. Woodruff was read, and unanimously sustained." The next day he added: "Attended a meeting of the Presidency of stakes and temples at the Gordo [sic] House, Prest. Woodruff presiding to explain the Manifesto and gain acceptance. It fits, I sustain Prest. Woodruff" (108). This move saved the temples from confiscation and opened the way to statehood for Utah six years later. In the St. George Stake where the reaction to the polygamy crusade had been one of defiance and protest, some people resented the abandonment of the principle that so many had fought and suffered for, while to others, it came as a great relief.²⁶ Probably most of them shared the ambivalence expressed at general conference in April 1894 by Apostle Francis M. Lyman, who had himself served a prison term in 1888. According to McAllister's journal, he said: "Plural marriage is a true doctrine . . . but the Lord and the law say no more wives now." McAllister corroborated, "What Apostle Lyman says is true and consistent with council given by the presidency to temple presidents in October 1893. Men may not now have additional wives" (123).

Whatever McAllister's private feelings about the change in policy, the Manifesto primarily meant that his years of running and hiding were over. Like most of St. George's polygamous husbands, he continued to live with his wives. However, by this time, two wives were dead, two divorced, and two he had never lived with. Although his primary residence from January 1894 until September 1909 was in Manti where Ann Eliza was the wife in residence, he continued to

²⁶James G. Bleak, "The Southern Utah Mission Record," 1891.

visit Cornelia and Alvina in St. George occasionally. I know of no extant records documenting plural marriages being performed in the St. George Temple after the Manifesto; and given McAllister's lifelong record of obedience plus his close association with Wilford Woodruff, it seems unlikely that he would have consented to or performed such marriages.

McALLISTER AS COMMUNITY LEADER

McAllister's experience with plural marriage—both the range of relationships and their different outcomes—provides a fascinating glimpse into this distinctive Mormon practice; but he also played other significant roles in southern Utah, including acting as a sort of Indian agent.

The people of St. George admittedly found it difficult to reconcile their belief that Native Americans were a remnant of Israel with some of the realities of Native American culture that seemed superstitious and barbaric to them. However, Mormon attitudes were, fortunately, somewhat tempered by their beliefs and by a sense of fairness and justice.

Both as an officer in the militia and as stake president, McAllister had a major responsibility to deal diplomatically with the Native Americans, to meet with chiefs, and to give presents and food. For example, during the harsh winter of 1878 when hungry Piutes called on McAllister, he ordered that beef be provided for them and asked the stake's Young Ladies' Mutual Improvement Society to provide winter clothing and schooling for the Indian children (61). In early March, he visited a nearby camp with two associates and Susa Young Gates (he calls her Susan A. Young), a daughter of Brigham Young. After encouraging the natives to do right and to serve the Lord, they selected a few children for a class that Susa would teach (61).

The next spring, "Big Chief, John Taylor," Erastus Snow, and McAllister bought ten acres of land a few miles south of St. George on the south bank of the Virgin River opposite present-day Bloomington, for \$300 as an Indian farm. John Taylor urged the natives to "take a little land, do a heap of work, and raise more grain" (63). McAllister himself and other members of the stake appointed men of good intention to assist and direct the labor and furnished tools and seeds; but by the end of 1891, McAllister records, "We spent

considerable time and effort in this direction, but had to admit defeat" (71, 97).²⁷

Despite this failed experiment, Native Americans seem to have been impressed with McAllister's generosity on the part of the Church and sometimes sought instruction from him. McAllister's diary records that they usually seemed pleased with his encouragement, given through interpreters: "I always instructed them concerning their lives and our Holy religion. They must go away from the ways of their forefathers and become self-sustaining" (60). McAllister's pleasure with this acceptance probably shows some naivete on his part, since those who accepted baptism often equated it with the food and clothing they received after baptism. According to James H. Pearce, a missionary to the Piutes, some Native American Mormons returned more than once, requesting rebaptism so they could receive more food. Nearly the entire Shivwit Band was baptized at St. George, and, on 30 April 1884, seven of them were endowed, partly fulfilling an 1854 prophecy of Brigham Young that settlements would be made on the Virgin River and a temple would be built which Indians would attend (76).

Another community problem that drew on McAllister's skill as a leader was growing intemperance, facilitated by local wineries.²⁸ The Dixie settlements were established on a shoestring; and Brigham Young, exhibiting his renowned pragmatism, therefore exhorted the people to raise or make everything they needed. On 13 October 1878, McAllister recorded Young's instructions that if men must yield to their weakness and break the Word of Wisdom, they should grow their own tobacco in order to save money for useful things (71, 91).

By 1882 selling wine to members was a thriving local business; and violations of the Word of Wisdom, including the prohibitions

²⁷Larson, *I Was Called to Dixie*, 607-9.

²⁸Santa Clara, Washington, Toquerville had extensive vineyards, and, to a lesser extent, St. George and Leeds. The main wineries were at Toquerville and Santa Clara, but many individuals also engaged in wine production. Peak production probably occurred between 1879 and 1887 when Silver Reef miners purchased large quantities. Many hundreds of gallons were produced annually, usually selling for two dollars a gallon. In 1887, when the St. George tithing office ceased taking wine as tithing, it reported having five casks on hand of fifty gallons each.

on tea, coffee, and tobacco, were widespread.²⁹ In October 1882, President John Taylor instructed McAllister to launch a reform in the St. George Stake, particularly emphasizing the Word of Wisdom. Following these instructions, McAllister assembled the bishops of the eleven wards in the stake in November 1883 and read the revelation in Doctrine and Covenants 89 embodying the 1833 Word of Wisdom: "I call[ed] attention to the demoralization of many through long established habits of drink," he recorded. In a follow-up letter, "I urged the bishops to take up a faithful, patient, wise and fatherly labor with all in their wards given to habitual drunkenness and with all who sell or give away intoxicating liquors to those who are weak and afflicted with an appetite for strong drink" (76). The leaders pledged themselves to support President Taylor's call for reform, candidly expressing both their failings and their need for strength. Daniel D. McArthur, bishop of St. George First Ward, said he had "left off tea and coffee one year ago." Furthermore, "I liked liquor and am fond of the smell of tobacco, but believing that God desired it, I schooled myself in the control of all these appetites."³⁰

As a result of this campaign, some men, including a member of the bishopric of the Washington Ward, were suspended from church callings for acknowledged guilt in drinking or selling wine. In July 1884, McAllister also ordered investigations into the unlawful manufacture and sale of liquor at Santa Clara, Washington, Toquerville, and St. George (111). While it would be unreasonable to assume that these measures eradicated drinking among southern Utah's Saints, this stronger stand no doubt greatly lessened its occurrence.

McAllister's personal habits, while abstemious, were probably not completely abstinent before this point; but on New Year's Day 1899 when he received a quart of "pure 7 year old rye whiskey" from his son-in-law, he specified conscientiously that it was for "medicinal purposes" (140). In December 1882, a year before the meeting with the bishops, he gave Ann Eliza a bottle of wine. However, he himself had an unforgettable experience about the negative effects of drink en route to St. George from April 1888 general conference when

²⁹Bleak, "Annals of the Southern Utah Mission," Book A, p. 233; Book B, pp. 176, 459.

³⁰Larson, *I Was Called to Dixie*, 607-8.

the stage driver and a passenger passed a bottle of gin back and forth until they were rip-roaring drunk. McAllister and four other passengers refused to travel beyond Minersville. The driver became so angry when McAllister asked for his satchel and belongings that he cursed, put "his hand in his pocket for his pistol, and threatened to shot the top of my head off" (131). Nor is there any indication that McAllister did not rigorously follow Taylor's reform movement. In fact, Wilford Woodruff in 1896 commended him for his "strict adherence to the Word of Wisdom" (61).

Many other civic responsibilities sought McAllister. He served as president of the St. George United Order (1877-79). In 1881 he helped Wilford Woodruff organize a local silk association. The next year, he was elected president of the St. George Social Hall Stockholders Association, a position he held until 1887. Also in 1882 he organized, convened, and presided over the Washington and Kane County Convention for statehood. He was also elected president of the Rio Virgin Manufacturing Company, which produced cotton (1887-94) (68, 70-71, 98-99).

A very important assignment came in December 1887 when Erastus Snow recommended that the stake establish and supervise an academy, the town's first institution of higher education.³¹ No suitable building was available; so to facilitate the academy's first year in 1888-89, McAllister offered the Board of Education use of the lower story of the St. George Tabernacle. He set apart Nephi Miles Savage of Payson, Utah, as its first principal. Three local people, John T. Woodbury, Horatio Picket, and Roscinia Jarvis, were appointed teachers; and tuition was set at \$3.50-\$5.00. On the first day of class, McAllister registered four of his children—Martin L., George, Edward, and Lucy—as the academy's first students (102). Unfortunately, the academy expired after five years due to financial woes and was not replaced until 1901 when the Woodward School opened.³²

³¹James G. Bleak was chair of the board of education. The Church eventually operated thirty-three of these academies scattered along the Mormon corridor from Canada to Mexico. They usually began with elementary-level courses, upgrading over time to high school work, teacher training, and even college courses. Richard E. Bennett, "Academies," *Encyclopedia of Latter-day Saint History*, edited by Arnold K. Garr, Donald Q. Cannon, and Richard O. Cowan (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 2000), 4.

McALLISTER AND TEMPLE WORK

But perhaps John D. T. McAllister's most rewarding assignment was the temple. Beginning with his duties as recorder at the Endowment House in Salt Lake City in the 1860s, it consumed much of his time, attention, and energy for nearly half a century. Regarded as an expert on temples, he memorized the ceremony from the original temple books prepared by Brigham Young. As a carpenter, McAllister paid close attention to the symbols, signs, and lettering in the temple as well as their location, relative size, and significance in Mormon theology. Because of his knowledge, experience, study, and observation, he became a consultant on many temple matters, including training of ordinance workers, but most particularly on issues such as the dimensions, locations, and design of various special ordinance rooms (87, 107, 111, 117).

For example, in May 1884 Wilford Woodruff invited McAllister to attend the dedication of the Logan Temple. President John Taylor then requested that he stay in Logan to assist with the ordinances until Apostle Marriner W. Merrill, the newly appointed temple president, became more familiar with them (87). He was still there the next month when Taylor set him apart as second president of the St. George Temple.³³

During the height of the federal anti-polygamy raid in May 1886, McAllister went to Salt Lake City at considerable personal risk to meet with the temple architects, Truman O. Angel and Angel's son, Osborn. After two days planning and designing the endowment rooms, McAllister submitted the plans signed by himself, W. H. Folsom, Truman O. Angel, and Frank Taylor to the First Presidency (87). At Wilford Woodruff's request, he went to Manti in May 1888, bringing copies of temple records containing the temple ceremonies. He helped prepare a list of names of potential temple workers, attended the dedication, and stayed an additional two and a half weeks helping to instruct the newly called temple workers (81).

In February 1893, Woodruff requested that McAllister send him the exact lettering on the east and west stands of the St. George Temple upper assembly room, presumably so it could be copied in

³²Larson, *I Was Called to Dixie*, 548-60.

³³McAllister replaced Wilford Woodruff as St. George Temple president on 17 June 1884 but remained in Logan until 2 July.



The McAllister family in Manti, 2 June 1906. Standing, left: Zina, John, Brigham, and Minerva. Seated left: Ann Eliza Wells McAllister, Stephney, and John D. T. McAllister

the Salt Lake Temple. A few days later, Woodruff invited McAllister to come to Salt Lake City to consult on questions affecting the temple's completion. In this letter, Woodruff added movingly in the language of blessing: "President J. D. T. McAllister, Thou wast appointed in the council of the Gods to hold The keys of Life and Salvation for the Living and the dead. Thou art fulfilling thy mission. And Thousands rejoice in the spirit world through Thy Administrations. And thy reward will be great. The redeemed will rise up and call thee blessed" (117). As another mark of Woodruff's esteem, he called on McAllister to speak during the temple dedication, remark-

ing: "You are presiding over a Temple in these mountains. I would like to give you an hour to bear your testimony [but] I will give you ten or fifteen minutes." McAllister spoke for seventeen minutes without notes, mentioning "manifestations" to President Woodruff in the St. George Temple, getting and keeping the Holy Spirit, and the First Presidency's right to speak by revelation.³⁴

Two weeks later, McAllister met with Church President Lorenzo Snow and John Nicolson, temple recorder and "put into their hands the book of questions, ceremonies etc., as prepared by Elder James G. Bleak, Recorder of the St. George temple from the St. George Temple Record, as introduced, set in order and ruled upon by Prest. B. Young when the St. George Temple opened for Ordinance Work" (119). He then remained in Salt Lake City to assist with temple work. He was still there on 5 May when, in a curious replay of his first temple appointment, George Q. Cannon, first counselor in the First Presidency, called him as president of the Manti Temple, succeeding Apostle Anthon H. Lund who had just been appointed European Mission president.

He wrote to Cornelia on 10 May: "I will not ask you to sacrifice your home again or to take upon you new responsibilities." The same day he wrote to Ann Eliza, asking her to "spend the winter" in Manti where "I expect you will serve as the Temple Matron and have those responsibilities Cornelia has had for the St. George Temple" (119). He assumed his new duties 25 May 1893 and was not able to return to St. George until late July to make arrangements for Ann Eliza and their five children to join him in Manti by the next January (120, 122.) In an ironic development, Matilda also moved to Manti in April 1897 and, ill, was accepted into McAllister's home where Ann Eliza cared for her until her death on 29 July. Her funeral was held in this home, she was buried in the family plot in Manti, and a week later on 5 August, McAllister, accompanied by two of his and Matilda's daughters, had her resealed to him in the Manti Temple (135).

When the temple president's home proved inadequate, McAllister bought the nine-bedroom Temple Boarding House from the Manti Temple Association.³⁵ In this large home, still a Manti land-

³⁴Journal typescript, 117-19. The dedication services began 6 April and continued to 18 April 1893. McAllister spoke at the service on 12 April.

³⁵Because McAllister was president of the association, he could not legally purchase the house. The association sold the property to a third

mark, he and Anne Eliza hosted many visitors to the area, including Church presidents and apostles. Here on 21 February 1903, two days after McAllister's seventy-fifth birthday, Ann Eliza gave birth to the last of his thirty-three children, "a lovely child" named Elga (153). On her second birthday, he recorded, "She is the apple of my eye" (157). She died a few days before her third birthday.

The aging McAllister, whose energy seemed to decline after this loss, was released eight months later in September 1906 (158). Stoically, he recorded only the details of the release and the calling of his replacement. He and Ann Eliza stayed in Manti for the next three years. In early September 1909, McAllister went to St. George where he visited Cornelia and Alvina, attended the temple, spoke in several public meetings, and visited old friends. In late November, he contracted a cold and grew steadily weaker until his death on 21 January 1910 in Cornelia's home. He was one month short of his eighty-third birthday.³⁶

So ended the life of John D. T. McAllister, a significant Church and civic leader in southern Utah for over thirty years and a close associate of most of the General Authorities for almost six decades. On 27 February 1896, McAllister copied into his diary a personal note from Church President Wilford Woodruff, who had known him so long and intimately:

John Daniel Thompson McAllister (Private to yourself) I have seen your life almost from boyhood, and I want to say unto you that your virtues, your humility, your integrity to God, to the Prophets, Apostles, and His people, your strict adherence to the Word of Wisdom and the word of God, are principles and practices which will land you in the Celestial Kingdom of God. . . . (158)

MCALLISTER: A SUMMING UP

J. D. T. McAllister led an active and eventful life. He worked at many tasks and developed a variety of skills which he employed in building the Mormon kingdom. Priding himself on being honest, hardworking, and morally upright, he sought to do well everything that he undertook and expected others to have the same degree of

party who, in turn, sold it to McAllister for \$2,500. Journal typescript, 120, 122, 128-29.

³⁶Ibid., 160; Preston Nibley, "Stalwarts of Mormonism," *Church News*, 30 July 1955, 11.

commitment. When he was disappointed, he could be impatient with those who did not measure up. Some found him overly confident, perhaps even conceited; but those who knew him best felt he was simply reserved and dignified, especially given his ramrod-straight posture and stately bearing. He took seriously his responsibility to train his children in morality and industry, perhaps becoming overbearing sometimes in this process. Nevertheless, he was a loving and compassionate man who never used corporal punishment.

Rarely complaining about his own misfortunes, he took his responsibilities seriously in the Church, in the community, and in his family. He was a physically striking man of undoubted intellect, persuasive ability, and passion for righteousness. His ecclesiastical leaders regarded him as one who performed his duties effectively and efficiently.

Given his undoubted gifts and intimacy with Wilford Woodruff, why did he never become a General Authority? I hypothesize that there were four reasons. First, he was not related by marriage or blood to the inner core of existing General Authorities. Second was his age. He was not quite old enough to be part of the Nauvoo generation nor young enough to be in the generation of their successors. He was past fifty before he received his first major administrative responsibilities. He also had a large family with young children until 1906, although family responsibilities were not usually considered in making calls to General Authorities. Third, by the time he arrived in St. George, he had some chronic health problems including a vaguely described chest injury that sometimes caused problems with breathing and bleeding. Fourth, though zealous for the kingdom, he was not ambitious for office. He was contented and fulfilled with his temple work, and his successive appointments to two temple presidencies probably removed him from consideration for other offices.

Known among his contemporaries as a man of stature, influence, and diligence, McAllister exercised broad and significant influence on events in Southern Utah. A man of many talents, he employed them all to serve his family, his church, and the communities where he resided. Much of his energy during the decade of the 1880s was spent defending, in one way or another, Mormon polygamy. As stake president and temple president at St. George, he was largely responsible for protecting the members of his stake

and for his own plural family. His life reveals much of the attitudes, the struggles, the defensive measures taken, and the ultimate Mormon capitulation to federal laws with their objective to Americanize Mormon marriage patterns.

His journals reveal him to be an articulate, straightforward, practical, down-to-earth man, keenly attuned to changing events but little given to philosophical reflections. Except where his family, the Church, the temple, and the doctrine of polygamy were concerned, his writings reveal little of passionate commitment. He enjoyed himself in the company of family, Church officials and members, and at musical and dramatic presentations, but he proved to be most at home in temple service, and it is perhaps in his contributions to nineteenth-century Mormon understanding of temples, their design, symbols, ceremony, and function where he made his most lasting contribution.

THE ANOINTED QUORUM IN NAUVOO, 1842-45

Devery S. Anderson

ON 4 MAY 1842, Joseph Smith and nine other men assembled in the room above his red brick store in Nauvoo and, with his brother, Hyrum, administered to them the endowment ceremony that would later be reserved for the temple, slowly rising in gleaming limestone on the bluff above them. They were James Adams, Heber C. Kimball, William Law, William Marks, George Miller, Willard Richards, Newel K. Whitney, and Brigham Young. The next day, these eight would bestow the same washings, anointings, and endowment upon Joseph and Hyrum.

According to Glen M. Leonard, the instructions and covenants

[set] forth a pattern or figurative model for life. The teachings began with a recital of the creation of the earth and its preparation to host life. The story carried the familiar ring of the Genesis account, echoed as well in Joseph Smith's revealed book of Moses and book of Abraham. The disobedience and expulsion of Adam and Eve from

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the Garden of Eden set the stage for an explanation of Christ's atonement for that original transgression and for the sins of the entire human family. Also included was a recital of mankind's tendency to stray from the truth through apostasy and the need for apostolic authority to administer authoritative ordinances and teach true gospel principles. Participants were reminded that in addition to the Savior's redemptive gift they must be obedient to God's commandments to obtain a celestial glory. Within the context of these gospel instructions, the initiates made covenants of personal virtue and benevolence and of commitment to the church. They agreed to devote their talents and means to spread the gospel, to strengthen the church, and to prepare the earth for the return of Jesus Christ.¹

A primary purposes of the endowment was to teach initiates the true order of prayer, during which participants could pray with the confidence that their prayers would be answered.

By receiving these ordinances on these two days in early May 1842, this group of men set themselves apart from the rest of the church and formed the beginnings of the Quorum of the Anointed (also called the "Holy Order"), an elite body of men (and later women) possessing special power and status. Joseph Smith would initiate only one more ordinance before his death: the second anointing (or fullness of the priesthood ordinance) in 1843.² This article is an in-depth exploration of the individuals who made up the Quorum of the Anointed, the evolution of that quorum over time, particularly before Joseph Smith's death, and its purpose. From the

¹Glen M. Leonard, *Nauvoo: A Place of Peace, A People of Promise* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 2002), 258-59.

²The function and purpose of the Quorum of the Anointed must be understood in the broader context of Joseph Smith's unfolding understanding of temple theology and accompanying ordinances. Although such a history lies outside the scope of this paper, it includes "power from on high" associated with ordination to the Melchizedek Priesthood in Kirtland, Ohio (1831), the construction and dedication of the Kirtland Temple (1833-36), the establishment of the School of the Prophets (1832-33), the ordinance of washing feet (1833), the development of the concept of sealing first referred to in the Book of Mormon, washings and anointings (1836), baptism for the dead (1840), the Nauvoo Temple (begun 1840), marriage for eternity (1841), the establishment of a Masonic Lodge in Nauvoo (1841), and the endowment ceremony (begun May 1842).

minutes kept of this quorum and references scattered throughout diaries and the reminiscences of participants, it is possible to reconstruct its meeting schedule, typical procedure, and goals. Although frequently misunderstood as having a political purpose, this quorum instead seems to have served almost exclusively a spiritual purpose, uniting its participants in prayer and bringing them consolation and affirmation as they faced increasing tensions in Nauvoo after the deaths of Joseph and Hyrum.

The nine men who were the first to experience the modern temple endowment were all members of Nauvoo's Masonic lodge. Three had been Masons for more than two decades. Hyrum Smith had apparently joined sometime before 1821; Heber C. Kimball became a member in 1823; and George Miller had been a Mason since 1819. James Adams had joined a lodge in Illinois after the Saints had entered the state.³ Joseph's explanation of similarities between the two ceremonies, according to Kimball, was that "masonry was taken from priesthood but has become degenerated."⁴ Nineteenth-century accounts of the two rituals show that they contain a handful of nearly identical words and gestures.⁵ For those believing in the restoration of all things, such parallels would have pointed to the ancient origins of Free Masonry.⁶ Historian D. Mi-

³Andrew F. Ehat, "Joseph Smith's Introduction of Temple Ordinances and the 1844 Mormon Succession Question" (M.A. thesis, Brigham Young University, 1982), 42-43.

⁴Heber C. Kimball, Letter to Parley and Mary Ann Pratt, 17 June 1842, Archives, Historical Department, Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City, Utah (hereafter LDS Church Archives). "It may not be coincidental that the Holy Order consisted of nine men," observed Michael Homer, "'Similarity of Priesthood in Masonry': The Relationship Between Freemasonry and Mormonism," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 27 (Fall 1994): 38. "A Royal Arch Chapter, also known as the Holy Order of the Royal Arch, consists of at least nine Master Masons, and was the next logical step on Freemasonry for those who had advanced to the third degree."

⁵David John Buerger, *The Mysteries of Godliness: A History of Mormon Temple Worship* (San Francisco: Smith Research Associates, 1994), 53-55.

⁶The view that Masonry originated during the construction of King Solomon's temple has been abandoned by modern scholars, and most Mormons today do not believe that the divinity of the endowment depends

chael Quinn observes that, despite the similarities, "the Mormon endowment or Holy Order had the specific purpose of preparing the initiate for 'an ascent into heaven,' whereas Freemasonry did not."⁷ Another factor, whose contribution to the text of the endowment was just as, if not more, important, was Joseph's study of the Bible, Book of Moses, and Book of Abraham.

By 1840, Masonry had developed from a network of crafts guilds into a fraternity emphasizing personal study, self-improvement, and service. One of Masonry's important benefits from a Mormon standpoint was the pledge of protection that members swore to each other.⁸ Joseph supported the idea of a Nauvoo lodge for the prestige it would bring to the city and church. Initial requests to the

on the ancient origins of Masonry. According to Armand L. Mauss, "Culture, Charisma, and Change: Reflections on Mormon Temple Worship," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 20 (Winter 1987): 79-80, "That the Masonic ceremony itself changed and evolved even in recent centuries does not necessarily invalidate Joseph Smith's claim that he was restoring, by revelation, an even more ancient temple ceremony to which the Masonic one bore certain resemblances. On the other hand, neither does that claim constitute a declaration of the total independence of the Mormon temple ceremony from any external cultural influences, including Masonry. Frankly, I have some difficulty understanding why this should be such a big issue, except to those with a fairly limited understanding of how a prophet gets ideas. Since prophets and religions always arise and are nurtured within a given cultural context, itself evolving, it should not be difficult to understand why even the most original revelations have to be expressed in the idioms of the culture and biography of the revelator."

⁷D. Michael Quinn, *The Mormon Hierarchy: Origins of Power* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books in association with Smith Research Associates, 1994), 115.

⁸For studies on Mormonism and Masonry, see Kenneth W. Godfrey, "Joseph Smith and the Masons," *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society* 64 (Spring 1971): 79-90; Reed C. Durham Jr., "Is There No Help for the Widow's Son?" typescript (privately circulated), 1974; Mervin B. Hogan, "Mormonism and Freemasonry: The Illinois Episode," in *Little Masonic Library*, edited by Carl H. Claudy, 5 vols. (Richmond, Va.: Macoy Publishing & Masonic Supply Co., 1977), 2:267-327; Robin L. Carr, *Freemasonry in Nauvoo, 1839-1846* (Bloomington, Ill.: Masonic Book Club and the Illinois Lodge of Research, 1989); and Michael W. Homer, "Similarity of Priesthood in Masonry."

Grand Lodge in June 1841 for a Nauvoo dispensation were denied, yet four months later Abraham Jonas of the Columbus Lodge approved the Saints' application. In December 1841, eighteen Masons met to organize a Nauvoo lodge at Hyrum Smith's home. Jonas officially installed the lodge and its officers on 15 March 1842. Joseph Smith and Sidney Rigdon, his counselor in the First Presidency, were both initiated on this occasion in a room above Joseph's red brick store. More than five hundred Mormon men joined or were elevated within the first five months, causing Nauvoo Masons to outnumber all other Masons in the state combined.⁹

In addition to their Masonic membership, shared widely with other men in Nauvoo, these nine were among the highest ranking and most trusted leaders of the church. Hyrum was assistant church president; William Law was a member of the First Presidency; Brigham Young, Heber C. Kimball, and Willard Richards were apostles; William Marks was Nauvoo Stake president; Newell K. Whitney served as Presiding Bishop; James Adams and George Miller held positions of local leadership.

The Anointed Quorum met on at least two subsequent occasions (perhaps as many as four) before the end of 1842. Vinson Knight apparently became the tenth man to be initiated that year, although this is not certain.¹⁰ Those who left accounts of these meetings record that they often received instruction, discussed items of business and current interest, and engaged in prayer. For example, on 26 and 28 June 1842, meetings focused on "the situation of the pine country & Lumbering business" where men were logging Wisconsin timber for the temple. On each occasion, quorum members "united in solemn prayer," asking, for example, for aid in dealing with legal matters facing the Church, and for protection of a quorum

⁹Homer, "Similarity of Priesthood in Masonry," 28-29.

¹⁰John C. Bennett, *A History of the Saints; or, An Exposé of Joe Smith and Mormonism* (Boston: Leland & Whiting, 1842), 247-48. Bennett cites a letter from George W. Robinson dated 8 August 1842 which claims that Vinson Knight had been endowed. Because Knight had died a week earlier on 31 July 1842, his initiation, if Bennett is correct, must have occurred between May 6 and the end of July. Because he was bishop of Nauvoo's Lower Ward and an early polygamist, he is included in the list of members in this essay.

member who was to leave the next day to bring his family to Nauvoo.¹¹

Following meetings in July (and possibly September), the Anointed Quorum did not meet again until May 1843. The gap between meetings probably resulted from the John C. Bennett crisis that placed most of the Church's business, including the temple construction, on hold. Bennett, who had moved to Nauvoo in September 1840, quickly rose to prominence in the new community. Within five months he was mayor of Nauvoo, chancellor of the University of Nauvoo, and major general of the Nauvoo Legion. Two months later, he was sustained as acting counselor to Joseph Smith. Church leaders soon learned, however, that Bennett had been secretly practicing his own version of plural marriage without Joseph's authorization. (Joseph had begun revealing his doctrine of plural wives to other Church leaders, including members of the Quorum of the Twelve Apostles in mid- to late-1841.) Joseph branded Bennett's activities as adulterous, and Bennett withdrew from the Church shortly after the organization of the Anointed Quorum in May 1842.

During the fall of 1842, Bennett published a book-length exposé of Joseph Smith, the Saints, plural marriage, and the Anointed Quorum. Although many of Bennett's claims were based on hearsay, others reflected first-hand knowledge, and the situation posed a dilemma for Joseph, who wanted to keep knowledge of both plural marriage and the Anointed Quorum private. Public discussion over Bennett's charges of "spiritual wifery" forced Joseph to denounce Bennett's allegations publicly while privately remaining true to the doctrines that he had been teaching and living.¹²

¹¹William Clayton, Diary, Kept for Joseph Smith, in "Book of the Law of the Lord," 26, 28 June 1842, in *The Papers of Joseph Smith, Volume 2: Journal, 1832-1842*, edited by Dean C. Jessee (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1992), 393-94.

¹²George D. Smith, "Nauvoo Roots of Polygamy, 1841-1846: A Preliminary Demographic Report," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 27 (Spring 1994): 1-72; Todd M. Compton, *In Sacred Loneliness: The Plural Wives of Joseph Smith* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1997); Richard S. Van Wagoner, *Mormon Polygamy: A History* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1986), and Kathryn M. Daynes, *More Wives Than One: Transformation of the Mormon Marriage System, 1840-1910* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press,

The situation intensified when Hyrum Smith, William Law, and William Marks, all members of the Anointed Quorum who were unaware of Joseph's plural marriages, tried to rid the Church of such teachings. Joseph's private secretary, William Clayton, recorded 23 May 1843: "Conversed with H[eber] C. K[imball] concerning a plot that is being laid to entrap the brethren of the secret priesthood by Brother H[yrum] and others."¹³ As Brigham Young later related, apparently within a day or two, Hyrum approached him: "I have a question to ask you," Hyrum began. "You and the twelve know some things that I do not know. I can understand this by the motions, and talk, and doings of Joseph, and I know there is something or other, which I do not understand, that is revealed to the Twelve. Is this so?" Young responded: "I do not know any thing about what you know, but I know what I know." Hyrum continued: "I have mistrusted for a long time that Joseph has received a revelation that a man should have more than one wife, and he has hinted as much to me, but I would not bear it. . . . I am convinced that there is something that has not been told me." Brigham then responded:

[B]rother Hyrum, I will tell you about this thing which you do not know if you will swear with an uplifted hand, before God, that you will never say another word against Joseph and his doings, and the doctrines he is preaching to the people. He replied, "I will do it with all my heart;" and he stood upon his feet, saying, "I want to know the truth, and to be saved." And he made a covenant there, never again to bring forward one argument or use any influence against Joseph's doings. Joseph had many wives sealed to him. I told Hyrum the whole story, and he bowed to it and wept like a child, and said, "God be praised." He went to Joseph and told him what he had learned, and renewed his covenant with Joseph, and they went heart and hand together while they lived, and they were together when they died, and they are together now defending Israel.¹⁴

Hyrum's conversion to plural marriage and the renewed inti-

2002).

¹³George D. Smith, ed., *An Intimate Chronicle: The Diaries of William Clayton* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books in association with Smith Research Associates, 1991), 105.

¹⁴Brigham Young, quoted in Ehat, "Joseph Smith's Introduction of Temple Ordinances," 57-59.

macy of the two brothers may have prompted the meeting of the Anointed Quorum on 26 May 1843, the first after at least eight months. The interval between William Clayton's diary entry, Hyrum's conversation with Brigham, and the quorum's meeting was only three days. William recorded in his diary on 26 May that "Hyrum received the doctrine of priesthood," meaning that he accepted plural marriage.¹⁵

Andrew Ehat suggests that the discussion of Hyrum's conversion to plural marriage did not occur in this meeting of the Anointed Quorum because William Law, who never accepted plural marriage, was present: "According to his testimony, William Law never knew from Joseph Smith that plural marriage was a practice of the Church until D&C 132 was recorded. This was seven weeks *after* the 26 May meeting."¹⁶ Joseph may have broached the topic indirectly, theoretically, or not at all. Michael Quinn, another historian of the Anointed Quorum, believes that Hyrum's conversion prompted Joseph at the 26 May meeting to reendow everyone who had been endowed the previous year. William Marks and George Miller were the only members of the Anointed Quorum absent from this meeting. Whether Joseph instructed quorum members in plural marriage at this time, Hyrum's acceptance revitalized the quorum and Joseph's plans for it. One result, according to Quinn, was that Joseph decided two months later to designate Hyrum his successor. After the 26 May meeting, according to Quinn, "Events in the Quorum of Anointed and other groups associated with the secret practices of Nauvoo were often more crucial than events occurring within open, public forums."¹⁷

On this occasion, the quorum also renewed the practice of prayer circles, a ritual which became increasingly important in quorum meetings and remains an important part of LDS temple worship. These ritual prayers imparted to members the "endowment of power" they believed they possessed.¹⁸ Diary entries mentioning, for example, "prayer meeting at J[oseph Smith].'s old house"¹⁹ usually refer to meetings of the Anointed Quorum.

¹⁵Smith, *Intimate Chronicle*, 106.

¹⁶Ehat, "Joseph Smith's Introduction of Temple Ordinances," 62.

¹⁷Quinn, *Origins of Power*, 54-55.

¹⁸D. Michael Quinn, "Latter-day Saint Prayer Circles," *BYU Studies* 19 (Fall 1978): 79-105.

On 28 May, two days after this crucial meeting, Joseph Smith introduced another ceremony to the Anointed Quorum: marriage sealings for eternity.²⁰ On 28 May, Joseph Smith and James Adams were sealed to their spouses, Emma Hale Smith and Harriet Denton Adams. This was an important moment for the Smiths, as Emma Smith, like Hyrum, had originally opposed her husband's teachings on plural marriage (and would again), yet had reconciled herself to the doctrine and practice, for "in the background of Joseph's introduction of the temple ordinances was the principle of plural marriage."²¹ The next day, Hyrum, Brigham, and Willard Richards were all sealed to their legal wives.²²

Four months later, on 28 September, the first women were initiated into the quorum, beginning with Emma, who received her endowment on or just before that date. The previous year, Joseph had organized the women's Relief Society and, using Masonic terminology, had instructed the women in his vision of their organization. "Let this Presidency serve as a *constitution*," he said, proposing "that the society go into a close *examination* of every *candidate*. . . .

¹⁹Willard Richards, Diary, 12 November 1843, LDS Church Archives.

²⁰Joseph had actually begun marriage sealings for eternity in April 1841 when he married his first documented plural wife, Louisa Beaman.

²¹Ehat, "Joseph Smith's Introduction of Temple Ordinances," 74-75. He adds: "Joseph had persuaded Emma to accept plural marriage in part by assuring her she could choose his wives. Shortly before her 28 May sealing, she designated Emily and Eliza Partridge and Sarah and Maria Lawrence and witnessed their weddings to her husband. She did not know that Joseph had already married at least sixteen women, including the Partridge sisters, two months earlier. By July 1843 when Joseph dictated the revelation sanctioning polygamy (D&C 132), Emma had changed her mind. Hyrum Smith read it her, after which he reported to Joseph: 'I have never received a more severe talking to in my life. Emma is very bitter and full of resentment and anger.'" Quoted in Linda King Newell and Valeen Tippetts Avery, *Mormon Enigma: Emma Hale Smith* (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1984, 142-52).

²²Scott H. Faulring, ed., *An American Prophet's Record: The Diaries and Journals of Joseph Smith* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books in association with Smith Research Associates, 1986), 381. Hyrum Smith and Adams were not polygamists at this point; Young and Richards were. George Smith, "Nauvoo Roots," 37-69.

that the Society should grow up by *degrees*." He added that God would "make of this Society a *kingdom of priests* as in *Enoch's day*."²³

At the Anointed Quorum's meeting on 28 September 1843, Joseph "was by common consent and unanimous voice chosen President of the quorum and anointed and ord[ained] to the highest and holiest order of the priesthood (and companion [i.e., Emma])."²⁴ This ordinance, called the "fullness of the priesthood" or second anointing, fulfilled the promise of the first anointing.²⁵ According to Glen M. Leonard, this "crowning ordinance" was "a promise of kingly powers and of endless lives. It was the confirmation of promises that worthy men could become kings and priests and that women could become queens and priestesses in the eternal worlds."²⁶ "For any person to have the fullness of that priesthood," Brigham Young explained, "he must be a king and priest. A person may have a portion of that priesthood, the same as governors or judges of England have power from the king to transact business; but that does not make them kings of England. A person may be anointed king and priest long before he receives his kingdom."²⁷ Those who receive their second anointings, according to twentieth-century Apostle Bruce R. McConkie, "receive the more sure word of prophecy, which means that the Lord seals their exaltation upon them while they are yet in this life. . . . [T]heir exaltation is assured."²⁸ During the ordinance, explains historian Lyndon W. Cook, a husband is "ordained a priest and anointed a king unto God," while

²³Minutes of the Nauvoo Female Relief Society, 17 March 1842, in Buerger, *Mysteries of Godliness*, 51; emphasis his. These words were also common Masonic terms and prompted Bennett to accuse Joseph of establishing a lodge of female Masonry. Quinn, "Latter-day Saint Prayer Circles," 85-86.

²⁴Faulring, *An American Prophet's Record*, 416.

²⁵David John Buerger, "'The Fulness of the Priesthood': The Second Anointing in Latter-day Saint Theology and Practice," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 16 (Spring 1983): 10-44.

²⁶Leonard, *Nauvoo*, 260-61.

²⁷Joseph Smith Jr. et al., *History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*, edited by B. H. Roberts (Salt Lake City: Deseret News Press, 6 vols. published 1902-12, Vol. 7 published 1932, 1980 printing), 5:527.

²⁸Bruce R. McConkie, *Mormon Doctrine*, 2d ed. (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1966), 109-10.

wives are "anointed priestesses and queens unto their husband."²⁹ "These ordinances," Ehat adds,

depending on the person's ecclesiastical position, made the recipient a "king and priest," "in," "in and over," or (as only in Joseph Smith's case) "over" the Church. Moreover, the recipient had sealed upon him the power to bind and loose on earth as Joseph explained in his definition of the fulness of the priesthood. Another blessing, growing out of the promise of the sealing power was the specific blessing that whatever thing was desired it would not be withheld when sought for in diligent prayer.³⁰

"There is no exaltation in the kingdom of God," Joseph Fielding Smith, writing as Church Historian and apostle, "without the fullness of priesthood."³¹

Throughout the remainder of 1843, the quorum continued to expand, with eternal sealings and second anointings following initiation as members. Such ordinances consumed a significant portion of the time, but the quorum also addressed important issues confronting the Church. For example, on 12 November 1843, after Alpheus and Lois Cutler received their second anointing, "I [Joseph Smith] spoke of a petition to Congress, my letter to [James Arlington] Bennett, and intention to write a proclamation to the kings of the earth." On 3 December with "all present except Hyrum and his wife," William Wine Phelps read Joseph's appeal to the Green Mountain Boys of Vermont to require Missouri to redress its wrongs against the Saints. Joseph's written appeal "was dedicated by prayer after *all* had spoken upon it."³² As Quinn points out, these meetings during November and December 1843 were the first time in Church history that men and women together discussed theocratic issues. Other such meetings would follow.³³

However, the Anointed Quorum was not an administrative or legislative body. Its authority stemmed from their anointings and

²⁹Lyndon W. Cook, *Joseph C. Kingsbury: A Biography* (Provo, Utah: Grandin Book, 1985), 94.

³⁰Ehat, "Joseph Smith's Introduction of Temple Ordinances," 95-96.

³¹In Bruce R. McConkie, comp., *Doctrines of Salvation: Sermons and Writings of Joseph Fielding Smith* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1956), 3:132.

³²Faulring, *An American Prophet's Record*, 429-30; emphasis mine.

³³Quinn, *Origins of Power*, 116.

endowments, both of which were strictly spiritual in nature. They discussed the appeal to the Green Mountain Boys, then made it a matter of prayer. The quorum did vote on matters that affected the group, however. For example, when William Law rejected plural marriage and stopped attending quorum meetings, the group voted formally to expel him in early 1844. Bathsheba Bigler Smith, a member of the quorum and wife of George A. Smith, who attended this meeting, said that "each one present vot[ed] yes or no in his [or her] turn."³⁴ Quinn summarizes: "All available evidence shows that the Holy Order's only administrative function pertained to . . . the endowment ordinances from 1843 to 1845," and stresses that "even when male members of the Anointed Quorum conducted administrative business, they sometimes made a distinct separation between meeting in their Church capacity to discuss administrative matters and meeting as the Quorum of Anointed to have a prayer circle about the matters discussed."³⁵

By the end of 1843, the quorum numbered at least thirty-eight individuals and had met at least thirty-two times, mostly to endow new members, advance others in the ordinances, and engage in the true order of prayer. Eighteen women had been initiated into the quorum and been endowed. Fifteen members had received the second anointing while as many as seventeen couples had been sealed for eternity.

As the quorum grew, it is important to note the family relationships between Joseph and other quorum members (see Table 1). Although the quorum included a number of Joseph's biological kin and relatives by marriage, relationships established by his and other plural unions also broadened the familial connections. Eventually, some thirty-nine initiates (44 percent of all quorum members) shared a family connection to Joseph, thus strengthening existing bonds of loyalty and increasing the trust Joseph hoped to foster and maintain within the group.

The year 1844 proved to be a difficult, yet prosperous twelve

³⁴Bathsheba W. Smith, Testimony, 16 March 1892, in *Complainant's Abstract of Pleading and Evidence, In the Circuit Court of the United States, Western District of Missouri, Western Division at Kansas City. The Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints, Complainants vs. The Church of Christ at Independence, Missouri* (Lamoni, Ia: Herald Publishing House, 1893), 360.

³⁵Quinn, "Latter-day Saint Prayer Circles," 90-91.

TABLE 1
FAMILY CONNECTIONS TO JOSEPH SMITH OF QUORUM MEMBERS,
1842-45

<i>Quorum Member</i>	<i>Family Connection to Joseph Smith</i>
Lucy Mack Smith	mother
Hyrum Smith	brother
Mary Fielding (wife of Hyrum Smith)	sister-in-law
Mercy Fielding Thompson (sister of Mary Fielding Smith and Hyrum Smith's plural wife)	sister-in-law by marriage
Joseph Fielding (Mary and Mercy's brother)	brother-in-law by marriage
Hannah G. Fielding (wife of Joseph Fielding)	sister-in-law by marriage
Samuel H. Smith	brother
William Smith	brother
John Smith (brother of Joseph Smith Sr.)	uncle
Clarissa Lyman Smith (wife of John Smith)	aunt by marriage
George A. Smith (son of John and Clarissa Smith)	first cousin
Bathsheba Bigler Smith (wife of George A. Smith)	cousin-in-law by marriage
Emma Hale Smith	first wife
Louisa Beaman/Beman	plural wife
Mary Adeline Beaman/Beman Noble (sister of Louisa Beaman)	sister-in-law
Joseph Bates Noble (husband of Mary Beaman)	brother-in-law by marriage
Olive Grey Frost	plural wife
Mary Ann Frost Pratt (sister of Olive Frost)	sister-in-law
Parley Pratt (husband of Mary Ann Frost)	brother-in-law by marriage

<i>Quorum Member</i>	<i>Family Connection to Joseph Smith</i>
Marinda Nancy Johnson Hyde	plural wife
Orson Hyde (husband of Marinda Nancy Johnson)	co-husband
Helen Mar Kimball	plural wife
Heber C. Kimball (father of Helen Mar Kimball)	father-in-law
Vilate Murray Kimball (mother of Helen Mar Kimball)	mother-in-law
Fanny Murray Young	plural wife
Vilate Murray Kimball (stepmother of Fanny Young)	stepmother-in-law
Heber C. Kimball (stepfather of Fanny Young)	stepfather-in-law
Rhoda Richards	plural wife
Levi Richards (brother of Rhoda Richards)	brother-in-law
Willard Richards (brother of Rhoda Richards)	brother-in-law
Jennetta Richards Richards (wife of Willard Richards)	sister-in-law by marriage
Sarah Ann Whitney	plural wife
Joseph C. Kingsbury (civil husband of Sarah Ann Whitney; and son-in-law; wife, Caroline Whitney [deceased])	co-husband
Newel K. Whitney (father of Sarah Ann Whitney)	father-in-law
Elizabeth Ann Whitney (mother of Sarah Ann Whitney)	mother-in-law
Agnes M. Coolbrith	plural wife
Elizabeth Davis Durfee	plural wife
Zina D. H. Jacobs	plural wife
Mary E. Rollins Lightner	plural wife
Sylvia Porter Sessions	plural wife
Eliza Roxcy Snow	plural wife

months for the quorum. Members were added by vote. In late January, for example, William Clayton recorded: "Brother [Reynolds] Cahoon came to my house to say that a vote had been taken on my being admitted into the quorum and I was accepted."³⁶ It is unknown if recommendations for admission came solely from Joseph or also from other quorum members. However, each member had a say in the matter and admissions received unanimous votes. In her reminiscence of the decision to drop Law, Bathsheba Smith also recalled: "One member hesitated to vote, which called forth earnest remarks from the Prophet Joseph. He showed clearly that it would be doing a serious wrong to retain him longer. After his explanation the vote was unanimous."³⁷

Although the quorum met primarily for prayer and ordinance work, meetings also included instruction on scripture and doctrine. For example, on 28 January 1844, in addition to the usual prayer circle, Joseph spoke on the coming of Elijah as recorded in Malachi 4. The following week, he expounded on the scriptural teaching of the 144,000 in the book of Revelation. At an earlier meeting that month, John Taylor had addressed the quorum and "made some appropriate remarks unto edification."³⁸ The quorum met more than twenty times in January and February 1844, averaging at least twice and often three times a week.

After William Law's expulsion from the Anointed Quorum, he became estranged from Joseph and was excommunicated three months later on 18 April 1844, along with his wife and brother. Three days later, he helped to found the Reformed Mormon Church and for the next two months worked to expose Joseph as a "fallen" prophet. Meetings of the Anointed Quorum became less frequent as Church leaders dealt with these latest challenges: only four times in March, once in April, and six times from May until Joseph's and Hyrum's deaths in late June. Meetings also dealt less with spiritual matters and more on the crisis with dissidents and reformers. For example, William Clayton recorded on 28 April: "We united [in prayer] for President Joseph the Church, the presidency contests the

³⁶Smith, *Intimate Chronicle*, 125.

³⁷Bathsheba Smith, *Testimony*, 360.

³⁸Wilford Woodruff, *Wilford Woodruff's Journal, 1833-1898*, typescript, edited by Scott G. Kenny, 9 vols. (Midvale, Utah: Signature Books, 1983-85): 2:344, 348, 346.

Lawsuits. The apostates, the sick &c. &c.” Still, he added, “We had a good time.”³⁹ The friendship, trust, and unity experienced within the quorum was a welcome respite from the turmoil in the community at large.

On 7 June 1844, Law and others published the first (and only) issue of the *Nauvoo Expositor*, which detailed Joseph’s plural marriage teachings and advocated repeal of Nauvoo’s city charter. Joseph, as mayor of Nauvoo, and the city council, declared the *Expositor* a nuisance and ordered its destruction. Joseph was charged with inciting a riot and other treasonous activities. While awaiting trial in Carthage Jail, he and Hyrum were killed by a mob on 27 June.

Their deaths placed in a special category those who had already joined the Anointed Quorum compared to those initiated during the next year and a half, before the completion of the Nauvoo Temple. What role did plural marriage play in membership? Although there was a high correlation, not all in the Anointed Quorum were polygamists. (See Table 2.) Of the thirty-seven men and twenty-nine women (sixty-six total) initiated during Joseph’s lifetime, sixteen men and twenty women (54.5 percent of all members) were polygamists either before or after initiation. These sixteen men represented 43 percent of male initiates (24 percent of all members); the twenty women represented 69 percent of female initiates (30 percent of all members). Thus, practicing plural marriage was not required for admission into the quorum although acceptance of the doctrine certainly was.⁴⁰

The correspondence between membership in the Anointed Quorum and those who received their second anointings was also not complete. Of the men and women initiated during Joseph’s lifetime, nineteen men and seventeen women (56 percent of all initiates) received their second anointing prior to Joseph’s death. (See Table 3.) These nineteen men represented 51 percent of male members (29 percent of all members), the seventeen women 59 percent of female members (26 percent of all members). Of the nineteen husbands who received the second anointing during Joseph’s lifetime, eleven (58 percent) were polygamists, eight (42 percent) monogamists. No plural wife received the ordinance until after Joseph’s

³⁹Smith, *Intimate Chronicle*, 131.

⁴⁰See the list of Nauvoo polygamists in George D. Smith, “Nauvoo Roots,” 37-69.

TABLE 2
PLURAL MARRIAGE AMONG QUORUM MEMBERS
DURING JOSEPH SMITH'S LIFETIME

I. Plural Husbands and Wives Initiated During Joseph Smith's Lifetime

<i>Husbands</i>	<i>Wives</i>
James Adams	Harriet Denton Adams, Roxena Repshire*
Reynolds Cahoon	Thirza Stiles Cahoon, Lucina Roberts*
William Clayton	Ruth Moon Clayton, Margaret Moon
Orson Hyde	Marinda Nancy Johnson Hyde, Martha Rebecca Browett,* Mary Ann Price*
Heber C. Kimball	Vilate Murray Kimball, Sarah Peak Noon*
Vinson Knight	Martha McBride Knight,* Philinda Clark Eldredge Myrick*
Isaac Morley	Lucy Gunn Morley, Hannah Blakeslee Finch Merriam*
Parley Pratt	Mary Ann Frost Pratt, Elizabeth Brotherton*
Willard Richards	Jennetta Richards Richards, Sarah Longstroth*
Hyrum Smith	Mary Fielding Smith, Mercy R. Fielding Thompson, Catherine Phillips*
John Smith	Clarissa Lyman Smith, Mary Aikens,* Julia Ellis Hills*
Joseph Smith	Emma Hale Smith, Agnes M. Coolbrith, Elizabeth Davis Durfee, Marinda Nancy Johnson Hyde, Fanny Young Murray, Louisa Be[a]man,* Prescindia L. H. Buell,* Sarah Kinsley Cleveland,* Hannah Ells,* Olive Grey Frost,* Desdemona Fullmer,* Elvira Annie Cowles Holmes,* Zina D. H. Jacobs,* Almera Woodward Johnson,* Helen Mar Kimball,* Martha McBride Knight,* Maria Lawrence,* Sarah Lawrence,* Mary E. Rol- lins Lightner,* Melissa Lott,* Sarah Scott Mulholland,* Emily Dow Partridge,* Eliza Maria Partridge,* Rhoda Richards,* Ruth Vose Sayers,* Patty Bartlett Sessions,* Sylvia Porter Sessions,* Delcena Johnson Sher- man,* Eliza Roxcy Snow,* Lucy Walker,* Sarah Ann Whitney,* Nancy Maria[h] Win- chester,* Flora Ann Woodworth,*
William Smith	Caroline Amanda Grant Smith,* Mary Ann Covington Sheffield,* Mary Jones*
John Taylor	Leonora Cannon Taylor, Elizabeth Kaighan,* Jane Ballantyne*
Lyman Wight	Harriet Benton,* Jane Margaret Ballantyne?,*

II. Known Plural Husbands Not Initiated in the Anointed Quorum During Joseph Smith's Lifetime

George F. Adams	John E. Page
Ezra T. Benson	Ebenezer Richardson
Howard Egan	William Sagers
William Felshaw	Erastus Snow
William D. Huntington	Theodore Turley
Joseph A. Kelting	Edwin D. Woolley
Joseph Bates Noble	Lorenzo Dow Young

*Not a member of the Anointed Quorum during Joseph Smith's lifetime.

TABLE 3
THE SECOND ANOINTING AND PLURAL MARRIAGE
AMONG QUORUM MEMBERS DURING JOSEPH SMITH'S LIFETIME

<i>Members Who Received Second Anointing</i>	<i>Wives</i>	<i>Marital Status at the Time</i>
<i>Husbands</i>		
Reynolds Cahoon	Thirza Stiles Cahoon	Polygamist
Alpheus Cutler	Lois Lathrop Cutler	Monogamist
Orson Hyde	[Anointed without wife]	Polygamist
Heber C. Kimball	Vilate Murray Kimball	Polygamist
Cornelius Lott	Permelia Darrow Lott	Monogamist
William Marks	Rosannah Robinson Marks	Monogamist
Isaac Morley	Lucy Gunn Morley	Polygamist
William W. Phelps	Sally Waterman Phelps	Monogamist
Orson Pratt	[Anointed without wife]	Monogamist
Parley P. Pratt	[Anointed without wife]	Polygamist
Willard Richards	Jennetta Richards Richards	Polygamist
George A. Smith	Bathsheba Bigler Smith	Monogamist
Hyrum Smith	Mary Fielding Smith	Polygamist
John Smith	Clarissa Lyman Smith	Polygamist
Joseph Smith	Emma Hale Smith	Polygamist
[Husband deceased]	Lucy Mack Smith	Monogamist
John Taylor	Leonora Cannon Taylor	Polygamist
Newel K. Whitney	Elizabeth Ann Smith Whitney	Monogamist
Wilford Woodruff	Phoebe Carter Woodruff	Monogamist
Brigham Young	Mary Ann Angell Young	Polygamist

death, leading Quinn to conclude that, during this period, "polygamy was only an appendage 'to the highest order of the priesthood' [i.e., the fullness of the priesthood] established on 28 September 1843."⁴¹ Had Joseph lived, requirements for initiation into the quorum and the ordinances themselves would probably have evolved further, especially considering the changes that had taken place in defining and bestowing the endowment between 1831 and 1843.

During the succession crisis that followed Joseph's death, some of the drama played out in the Anointed Quorum. As Quinn points out, during the five weeks after Joseph's martyrdom, "the primary format for discussing succession was at meetings of the Quorum of Anointed. Three-fourths of the apostles and other leaders were weeks away from Nauvoo. Unlike all other quorums, the Quorum of Anointed had no requirement that a majority be present to conduct business."⁴² However, quorum members were divided on appointing a trustee for the Church; some wanted to act immediately, while others, including Willard Richards, wanted to await the apostles' return.⁴³ The second group prevailed. The quorum met six times between 27 June and 8 August: on 30 June 4, 7, 12, 14, and 24 July.

Following the arrival in Nauvoo of a majority of apostles, Sidney Rigdon, Joseph's first counselor, presented the case for his appointment as "guardian" of the Church at a public meeting on 8 August. However, most Church members favored the leadership of the Quorum of the Twelve, with Brigham Young as its president. At Rigdon's excommunication the next month, Apostle Orson Hyde denounced Rigdon's revelations and observed that the dilemma could have been resolved elsewhere: "There is a quorum organized where revelations can be tested." Although Hyde did not identify the Anointed Quorum by name, he was clearly thinking of its prayer circles.⁴⁴ The day after Rigdon's failed bid, Young assembled the Anointed Quorum and its members voted to stop admitting new initiates "till times would admit."⁴⁵

The meetings of the Anointed Quorum were also curtailed. In

⁴¹Quinn, "Latter-day Saint Prayer Circles," 88.

⁴²Quinn, *Origins of Power*, 149.

⁴³*Ibid.*, 150.

⁴⁴*Ibid.*, 171.

⁴⁵Willard Richards, *Diary*, 9 August 1844.

September, there were three meetings, two in October, none in November, and one in December. At that meeting on 22 December, quorum members voted to admit three women, although they actually entered the quorum later. However, in 1845, Young presided over 146 meetings of the quorum, usually between five and ten times a month; but from 2 October to 11 December, they met daily. They also added more than twenty to the quorum. In the process, according to Quinn, Young helped “make polygamy an institution instead of furtive practice” by increasing the percentage of plural wives within the quorum from 7.6 percent during Joseph’s lifetime to 57.1 percent.⁴⁶ Young also resumed the administration of second anointings in 1845.

In addition to admitting or advancing members, the quorum regularly held prayer circles in its meetings. They prayed for deliverance from their enemies, for example, asking that Thomas Sharp, editor of the anti-Mormon *Warsaw Signal* and accused murderer of Joseph Smith, “be visited with judgements.” They also implored divine retribution on troublemakers inside the Church, such as presiding patriarch William Smith (Joseph’s younger brother), who “is endeavoring to ride the Twelve down.”⁴⁷ At a time when the Saints were struggling to complete their temple and simultaneously dealing with internal and external strife, many of the quorum’s meetings lasted late into the night. On 18 May 1845, for example, the quorum was in session until 2:00 A.M.; on May 22, the meeting ended at midnight; on 29 May, quorum members did not return home until 1:30 A.M. It is obvious from the minutes that the power they collectively invoked in the true order of prayer motivated them to unite together until they could open the temple, endow the Saints, and evacuate Nauvoo.

The Anointed Quorum met for the first time in the Nauvoo Temple on 7 December 1845. Three days later, they launched the monumental process of endowing the general adult membership of the Church. Although the temple was unfinished, the attic level was completed, allowing ordinances to be performed for over five thousand men and women until 6 February 1846.

While the Nauvoo era of LDS history is remembered, in part, for development associated with the temple, the Anointed Quorum

⁴⁶Quinn, *Origins of Power*, 176.

⁴⁷Smith, *Intimate Chronicle*, 167.

set the stage for those teachings. It was the Anointed Quorum that met together for three and a half years, participating in sacred rites and receiving instruction from Joseph Smith, Brigham Young, and other leading Church officials. Any study of Nauvoo must treat the Anointed Quorum as Joseph's contribution to temple-related theology. The quorum should be recognized for its comforting and invigorating spiritual power, acting as a separate body from those governing the Church administratively.

“A PROVIDENCIAL MEANS OF AGITATING MORMONISM”: PARLEY P. PRATT AND THE SAN FRANCISCO PRESS IN THE 1850s

Matthew J. Grow

“POLYGAMY MEETS US EVERYWHERE,” Parley P. Pratt wrote to Brigham Young from San Francisco in December 1854, “so we have met it in press, and pulpit, and the Spirit of Truth has almost struck [our opponents] dumb with amazement & wonder.”¹ Pratt’s jubilant assessment, written in the midst of his second term as president of the Mormon Pacific Mission, conveyed what he viewed as a public relations coup—he had used San Francisco’s mainstream newspapers to print articles favorable to Mormonism, including several of his own essays. Even in the cultural milieu of

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¹Parley P. Pratt, San Francisco, Letter to Brigham Young, Salt Lake City, 18 December 1854, Brigham Young Collection, Archives of the Family and Church History Department, Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City (hereafter LDS Church Archives).

gold-rush San Francisco in the mid-1850s, Mormon missionaries, best exemplified by the charismatic Pratt, stood out, primarily because of their practice and forceful advocacy of plural marriage. In publishing Pratt's essays, the San Francisco press acted not out of religious zeal, but from a pragmatic understanding that the sensational qualities of Mormonism sold papers. Pratt and the newspapers enjoyed a symbiotic relationship, each believing that they were successfully using the other to promote their divergent purposes.

Pratt joined the fledgling Mormon movement in September 1830, a mere six months after the official organization of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints.² Five years later, he became one of the originally ordained Twelve Apostles. He dedicated the rest of his life to the ministry, serving numerous missions in the United States, Canada, Great Britain, and Chile. Pratt's formidable intellect and writing prowess contributed greatly to the defense of nineteenth-century Mormonism, and he produced a steady stream of pamphlets, books, and newspaper articles.³ His *Voice of Warning* (1837) can rightly be described as the "most important of all non-canonical Mormon books," and his *Key to the Science of Theology* (1855) marked the first attempt at a comprehensive theological treatise of Mormonism.⁴

While Pratt is principally remembered for his books and pamphlets, he also served as a leader of the Mormon press. Latter-day Saints of his era regularly sought to advance their creed by establishing newspapers. As founding editor of the *Millennial Star*, the Church's influential British periodical, Pratt set the standard for later Mormon apologists. Additionally, he guided the Church's publishing efforts in the eastern United States, including supervising a New York newspaper, *The Prophet*, in the tumultuous year following the martyrdom of Joseph Smith. One historian has argued that his

²See Pratt's classic *The Autobiography of Parley Parker Pratt*, edited by Parley P. Pratt Jr. (1874; Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1985 printing). Reva Stanley, *A Biography of Parley P. Pratt: The Archer of Paradise* (Caldwell, Ida.: Caxton Printers, 1937), is the only book-length biography of Pratt; while useful in some respects, it is heavily based on the autobiography.

³Peter Crawley, "Parley P. Pratt: Father of Mormon Pamphleteering," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 15 (Autumn 1982): 13-26.

⁴*Ibid.*, 14.

leadership in establishing standards to govern the often troublesome world of Mormon publishing helped ensure the primacy of the leadership of Brigham Young and the Quorum of the Twelve Apostles.⁵

During Pratt's first mission to San Francisco in 1851, he found a thriving city which bore little resemblance to the former village of Yerba Buena, which at the time of the discovery of gold possessed a substantial Mormon population. Led by Samuel Brannan, over two hundred Mormons had arrived in 1846 from New York on the *Brooklyn*, and some former members of the Mormon Battalion had joined them in 1847 after their historic march.⁶ With the discovery of gold, however, San Francisco quickly became one of the most cosmopolitan cities in the world as argonauts poured in not only from the United States, but also from Europe, South America, Asia, and Australia. Before the gold rush, only about 14,000 whites, mostly Hispanic Californios, resided in California. By 1852, California had 255,000 residents—380,000 in 1860, 40 percent of whom were foreign born.⁷ San Francisco experienced a similar boom, growing from a thousand residents in 1848 to 34,000 in 1852 to about 50,000 in 1856. It rapidly became the economic, intellectual, and religious center of this demographic explosion.⁸

A concentration of single young men, a relative lack of government institutions, and the presence and prospect of easy money

⁵David J. Whittaker, "Parley P. Pratt and the Pacific Mission: Mormon Publishing in 'That Very Questionable Part of the Civilized World,'" in *Mormons, Scripture, and the Ancient World: Studies in Honor of John L. Sorenson* (Provo, Utah: Foundation for Ancient Research and Mormon Studies, 1998), edited by Davis Bitton, 52-53. For more information on Pratt's pamphleteering, see Whittaker, "Early Mormon Publishing," (Ph.D. diss., Brigham Young University, 1982), 58-63.

⁶Doris Muscatine, *Old San Francisco: The Biography of a City from Early Days to the Earthquake* (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1975), 49; Richard O. Cowan and William E. Homer, *California Saints: A 150-Year Legacy in the Golden State* (Provo, Utah: Religious Studies Center, Brigham Young University, 1996), 23-39, 94-95.

⁷John Boessenecker, *Gold Dust and Gunsmoke: Tales of Gold Rush Outlaws, Gunfighters, Lawmen, and Vigilantes* (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1999), 5.

⁸Roger W. Lotchin, *San Francisco, 1846-1856: From Hamlet to City* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1997), 30, 102.

fostered a culture in which violence, gambling, and prostitution flourished. Concerns for these souls prompted many religious societies to send ministers and missionaries to establish churches and recall wayward souls.⁹ Religious groups in the city ranged from traditional Protestant sects to Catholics, Jews, and Spiritualists. In this highly fragmented society, no single religion dominated, a fact particularly lamented by evangelical Protestant missionaries seeking to recreate the culture of the Eastern United States.¹⁰ Although most Protestant groups in California generally viewed their mission as promoting social and moral reform and tended to avoid interdenominational conflict, they also actively opposed groups like the Catholics and Mormons that fell outside the Protestant tradition. However, the relative weakness of Protestant denominations in San Francisco's cosmopolitan culture led to less religious discrimination against minority groups than in the East.¹¹ Indeed, historian Robert W. Cherny has argued that during the nineteenth century, the "only major area" where San Francisco deserved its celebrated "reputation for tolerance is that of religion."¹²

Representative of the ecclesiastical pluralism, San Francisco boasted eighteen religious newspapers between 1848 and 1865, which, by the time of Pratt's visits, included papers sponsored by Baptists, Congregationalists, Presbyterians, Methodists, Catholics, and Jews. Due to the relative dearth of clergymen, the newspapers were intended to "build and maintain denomination identity and

⁹Kevin Starr, *Americans and the California Dream, 1850-1915* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1973), 69-71.

¹⁰See Laurie F. Maffly-Kipp's insightful study of evangelical missionaries in northern California, *Religion and Society in Frontier California* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1994).

¹¹Sandra Sizer Frankiel, *California's Spiritual Frontiers: Religious Alternatives in Anglo-Protestantism, 1850-1910* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988), xi, 4, 14; see also Lotchin, *San Francisco*, 322-28; David Brion Davis, "Some Themes of Counter-Subversion: An Analysis of Anti-Masonic, Anti-Catholic, and Anti-Mormon Literature," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* 47 (September 1960): 205-24.

¹²Robert W. Cherny, "Patterns of Toleration and Discrimination in San Francisco: The Civil War to World War I," *California History* 73 (1994): 140. See also Bradford Luckingham, "Religion in Early San Francisco," *Pacific Historian* 17 (1973): 56-73.

cohesion" in the spiritual chaos of the gold rush. Even minor denominations published papers. While many of these papers were short-lived, some—particularly the Methodist *California Christian Advocate* and the Congregationalist *Pacific*—had substantial circulations and influence in the city.¹³ For their part, the San Francisco citizenry proved willing enough to make financial donations but otherwise responded lukewarmly to religion. According to historian Hubert Howe Bancroft, the "reckless and exuberant spirit of the mining era was too deeply engraven" for religion to take hold.¹⁴ San Franciscans tended to distrust the emotional enthusiasm of religious excess, even seeing in sectarian disputes the roots of America's sectional divisions, as exhibited by the slogan of the San Francisco Vigilante Committee of 1856: "No creed. No party. No sectional issues."¹⁵

The gold rush also attracted a highly literate population to San Francisco, fostering a climate in which journalism thrived. During the 1850s, San Francisco boasted more newspapers than London; over the course of the decade, 132 papers appeared (and most disappeared) in the city. Samuel Brannan established California's second and San Francisco's first paper, the *California Star*, in 1847. After his scheme to monopolize California's newspapers failed, Brannan sold the *Star* and it subsequently merged with the *Californian* in 1849 to form the *Alta California*, the city's most respected newspaper in the 1850s.¹⁶ San Francisco journalism tended to be sensational and highly personal. Unflattering articles often inspired duels or other forms of violence. Perhaps E. P. Jones, the editor of Brannan's *Star*, set the tone in an early issue, in which he attacked the editors of his sole rival, the *Californian*, calling one a "lying sycophant" and the other an "overgrown lick-spittle."¹⁷ In 1856, the most infamous inci-

¹³Wesley Norton, "'Like a Thousand Preachers Flying': Religious Newspapers on the Pacific Coast to 1865," *California Historical Quarterly* 56 (Fall 1977): 194-209, quotation p. 195. The *Advocate* had a circulation of 1500 in 1853, while the *Pacific* claimed 4000 in 1856.

¹⁴Hubert Howe Bancroft, *History of California, 1848-1859*, 7 vols. (San Francisco: History Company, 1888), 6:784-85.

¹⁵Frankiel, *California's Spiritual Frontiers*, 11.

¹⁶David Dary, *Red Blood and Black Ink: Journalism in the Old West* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1998), 16-20; Will Bagley, *Scoundrel's Tale: The Samuel Brannan Papers* (Spokane, Wash.: Arthur H. Clark, 1999), 238, 246.

¹⁷E. P. Jones, *California Star*, 20 February 1847, 2, reproduced in Fred

dent of newspaper violence occurred when the editor of the *San Francisco Tribune*, James Casey, shot and wounded James King, editor of a rival paper, the *San Francisco Evening Bulletin*; the dispute helped instigate the vigilante movement of 1856.¹⁸ In the hard-hitting world of San Francisco journalism, Mormonism quickly became a hotly debated issue.

The 1850s proved to be a crucial transitional period for the public image of Mormonism. Although the Saints were ostracized by much of the press even before the 1850s, the martyrdom of Joseph and Hyrum Smith in 1844 and the subsequent forced exodus from Illinois had evoked some sympathy for the Saints. However, after the official announcement of plural marriage in 1852 and the much-publicized problems of federal officials in Utah in the early 1850s, Mormon stereotypes hardened and became nationalized, largely through their extensive reinforcement in regional and national periodicals.¹⁹ The Mountain Meadows Massacre of 1857, two years after Pratt's second mission, further darkened the national image of Mormonism, confirming the reputation of Mormon men as violent religious fanatics as well as harem-keepers.²⁰

Significantly, even with the multitude of negative articles in the national press aimed at the Church in general and polygamy in particular, Mormon leaders viewed the press optimistically.²¹ For example, at the first annual meeting of the Typographical Association of Deseret in 1855, John G. Chambers, an early Utah newspaperman, commented that even though the press had worked against

Blackburn Rogers, ed., *The California Star: Yerba Buena and San Francisco, Volume 1, 1847-1848*, facsimile reproduction (Berkeley, Calif.: Howell-North Books, 1965), 26.

¹⁸Dary, *Red Blood and Black Ink*, 107-11. To distinguish himself from others of the same name, King was commonly known as James King of William. William was his father.

¹⁹Gary L. Bunker and Davis Bitton, "Illustrated Periodical Images of Mormons, 1850-1860," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 10 (Spring 1977): 82-83.

²⁰For the California reaction to Mountain Meadows, see Roger Robin Ekins, ed., *Defending Zion: George Q. Cannon and the California Newspaper Wars of 1856-1857* (Spokane, Wash.: Arthur H. Clark, 2002), 365-85.

²¹Whittaker, "Early Mormon Pamphleteering," 50-81.

Mormonism in “propagating falsehood,” its true purpose would be realized as a “powerful means in disseminating truth.” Indeed, under the leadership of God’s priesthood, the press would yet fulfill its “legitimate channel” by advancing Mormonism.²² In 1855, the Mormon press included 10 newspapers—three in the United States (Salt Lake City, St. Louis, and New York City) and seven overseas. The number of Mormon papers caused Apostle Franklin D. Richards, editor of the *Millennial Star* and president of the European Mission, to celebrate the press’s role in furthering “principles of righteousness and eternal life” throughout the world.²³

Against this background, Pratt arrived in San Francisco in July 1851.²⁴ He disfellowshipped Brannan, supervised the San Francisco branch of the Church, corresponded with missionaries in the Sandwich Islands (Hawaii), sent a pair of missionaries to Australia, began work on *Key to the Science of Theology*, and studied Spanish in preparation for his mission to Chile. He left for Chile in September and arrived back in San Francisco in May 1852; his inadequate Spanish and Chilean civil unrest had frustrated his attempts to establish the Church there. During this mission, Pratt also wrote proclamations to the people of the Pacific and to the Spanish Americans. These writings were the first Mormon publication printed in the Pacific (by

²²Journal History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (chronological scrapbook of typed entries and newspaper clippings, 1830-present), 2 February 1855, 7, LDS Church Archives. For information on Chambers, see Frank Esshom, *Pioneers and Prominent Men of Utah* (Salt Lake City: Utah Pioneers Book Publishing, 1913), 799.

²³*Ibid.*, 4 May 1855, 3. For Mormon attitudes on newspapers, see also David J. Whittaker, “The Web of Print: Toward a History of the Book in Early Mormon Culture,” *Journal of Mormon History* 23 (Spring 1997): 15-19.

²⁴Pratt’s diary for this period was published as “A Mormon Mission to California in 1851. From the Diary of Parley Parker Pratt,” edited by Reva Holdaway Stanley and Charles L. Camp, *California Historical Society Quarterly* 14 (1935): 59-73, 175-82. For more information on Pratt’s 1851-52 mission, see F. Lamond Tullis, “California and Chile in 1851 as Experienced by the Mormon Apostle Parley P. Pratt,” *Southern California Quarterly* 67 (Fall 1985): 291-307; and A. Delbert Palmer and Mark L. Grover, “‘Hoping to Establish a Presence’: Parley P. Pratt’s 1851 Mission to Chile,” *BYU Studies* 38, no. 4 (1999): 115-38.

the Australian missionaries) and the first Mormon tract published in Spanish.²⁵

Pratt reported that the San Francisco press treated Mormonism positively, as the "papers in this country, more particularly the 'Alta' publishes something favorable to us every few days." According to him, the press did not endorse Mormon doctrines but expressed "unbounded confidence in 'Mormon Government,' 'Mormon Industry,' 'Mormon Enterprise,' etc."²⁶ Indeed, the *Alta California* praised Mormons as "the most industrious beings on the face of the globe," and described them as "intelligent, shrewd, calculating, persevering, zealous and united."²⁷ The *Alta* further lamented the early persecutions of the Saints in Illinois and Missouri, defending their right to believe their "peculiar and absurd religious views and notions."²⁸ Believing that Mormons would become increasingly integrated with the national economy, the *Alta* endorsed a Mormon plan to have Congress build a railroad between Salt Lake City and the Pacific. Amicable relationships with the Saints, in the *Alta*'s view, would ensure that Mormon commerce would "enrich" California.²⁹ As Pratt accurately described the paper's general tone, "The Mormons can build Rail Roads, and spread their Light and influence to all nations in a trice."³⁰

Pratt soon turned his attention to the most controversial Mormon doctrine. Conflict in Utah between a group of federal officials and the Latter-day Saints sparked a national furor over polygamy in 1851-52. The *Alta* was taking a more negative stance on the Saints

²⁵Whittaker, "Parley P. Pratt and the Pacific Mission," 54-58.

²⁶Parley P. Pratt, San Francisco, Letter to Brigham Young, Salt Lake City, 25 July 1851, Brigham Young Collection, LDS Church Archives.

²⁷"The Mormons at Salt Lake," *Daily Alta California*, 10 July 1851.

²⁸"As Low as the Mormons," *Daily Alta California*, 6 August 1851, 1.

²⁹"The Mormons at Salt Lake," 10 July 1851, 1. See also "Mormon Settlement in the South," 14 July 1851; "Mormons in the South," 15 July 1851; "Affairs in the Salt Lake Country," 24 July 1851; and "From Utah," 7 August 1851, in the *Daily Alta California*. The paper also listed the location and times of Pratt's Sunday sermons among religious services of other denominations. See "City Intelligence," 13 July and 20 July 1851.

³⁰Pratt, Letter to Young, 25 July 1851. In contrast to his later mission, Pratt did not play an active role in shaping the newspapers' coverage of Mormonism in 1851-52 except for the broadside discussed below.

by the time Pratt returned from Chile.³¹ A broadside published in July 1852 marked Pratt's first public defense of plural marriage in response to the San Francisco press. He noted that a San Francisco editor "in reviewing our late Spanish and English Proclamations, complains sorely of our neglect of our countrymen, the americans, in our religious instructions." His broadside would redress that neglect. Pratt praised Brigham Young's morality, cited the precedent of biblical polygamy, and proclaimed that Mormonism "will provide the means for every female to answer the end of their creation; to be protected in honor and virtue; and to become a happy wife and mother." He also attacked what he viewed as the city's ubiquitous immorality and prostitution, exclaiming, "so much disease, shame, dishonor, ruin, death and damnation, of our fair daughters for so much money. So much gold for so much blood!" While Pratt implied that the Saints practiced polygamy, he carefully refrained from explicitly acknowledging the practice, even claiming that he "never had the curiosity to inform" himself of "Young's family matters."³² The Church did not officially announce the practice of polygamy until nearly two months later, but his arguments foreshadowed many of those that other Mormons, particularly his influential younger brother, Orson, would use in its defense.³³

Pratt left San Francisco in July 1852 and, for the next two years, remained in Utah where he continued his prolific writing, served in the territorial legislature, helped develop the Deseret Alphabet, and continued to study Spanish.³⁴ On 6 April 1854, Brigham Young called him on a second mission to San Francisco. Accompanied by a plural wife, Elizabeth Brotherton Pratt, and twenty-three mission-

³¹See *Daily Alta California*: "The Utah Troubles," 29 January 1852, 2; "Dissension among the Mormons," 12 June 1852, 2; "The San Bernardino Settlement," 19 June 1852, 2.

³²Pratt, broadside, "Mormonism! Plurality of Wives! An Especial Chapter, for the Especial Edification of Certain Inquisitive News Editors, Etc.," 13 July 1852, in Stanley and Camp, eds., "A Mormon Mission to California in 1851," 58.

³³David J. Whittaker, "'The Bone in the Throat': Orson Pratt and the Public Announcement of Plural Marriage," *Western Historical Quarterly* 18 (July 1987): 299. Parley probably did not know of the imminent announcement of polygamy at the time he wrote his broadside.

³⁴Whittaker, "Parley P. Pratt and the Pacific Mission," 58.

aries bound for the Sandwich Islands, Pratt arrived in San Francisco on 2 July after a journey of two months. As in his earlier mission, he directed missionary work in the nearby region as well as in the Sandwich Islands, while continuing to devote significant time to "writing [his] history and for the press."³⁵ David Whittaker has identified Pratt's publishing activities during this second mission as threefold: preparing for the establishment of an LDS press, founding an "LDS book supply agency for California and the Pacific," and continuing his writing, with a focus on his autobiography.³⁶ However, previous scholarship has neglected another essential component of Pratt's writing, namely, his letters and articles published by the San Francisco press.

Pratt reannounced himself to the press in a letter to John S. Hittell, an assistant editor of the *Daily California Chronicle*, who had advertised a forthcoming series of lectures against Christianity.³⁷ The *Chronicle* published the letter along with a circular printed by Pratt. This first letter established the tone of Pratt's relationship with the *Chronicle*, one of San Francisco's leading newspapers, which published nine letters from Pratt and numerous articles on him over the next ten months.³⁸ Pratt's bold and fiery letters generally elicited sarcastic, humorous, and often mocking responses from the *Chronicle*. For example, in this introductory letter, Pratt suggested that Hittell need not give the public any "uneasiness" over the corrupt forms of traditional Christianity; and in his circular, he promised to baptize the penitent, heal the sick, preach a pure religion, and accept donations. In response, the *Chronicle* in an unattributed article noted

³⁵Pratt, *Autobiography*, 376.

³⁶Whittaker, "Parley P. Pratt and the Pacific Mission," 59.

³⁷Hittell came to California in 1849, worked as a reporter for the *California Chronicle* (1852-54), and then moved to the *Alta California*. He wrote several books promoting and describing early California. His lectures led to a book, *The Evidences against Christianity*, which went through two editions (San Francisco, 1856; New York, 1857). Claude Petty, "John S. Hittell and the Gospel of California," *Pacific Historical Review* 24 (February 1955): 3.

³⁸Besides the religious papers already described, the dailies which dominated the press included the *Alta*, the *California Chronicle*, the *Evening Bulletin*, and the *Herald*. These papers usually had a daily circulation between 3,000 and 6,000. Lotchin, *San Francisco*, 334-36.

that it had given Pratt “all the publicity we can, by publishing his circular gratuitously,” and remarked on the futility of Pratt’s mission, characterizing California as “the very h-ll on earth of the Mormons.”³⁹

The *California Chronicle*, like many of San Francisco’s newspapers in the 1850s, was relatively short lived (1853-58), but proved to be uncommonly influential. At the time of Pratt’s correspondence, it claimed the largest circulation in the city.⁴⁰ Established in 1853 by a group of reporters from the *Alta California* led by Frank Soulé, the *Chronicle* quickly became one of the city’s most important papers. Soulé, originally from Maine, had taught school and worked as a newspaperman in Mississippi before joining the gold rush in 1849. After a failed attempt at mining, he found employment with the *Alta* and became embroiled in local politics; he won election as San Francisco’s state senator as a Whig in 1852 and later unsuccessfully sought several offices, first as a Whig and then as a Republican. After the *Chronicle* became the Republican Party’s official paper in 1856, Soulé resigned. Without his leadership and with the paper’s unpopular opposition to vigilantism in 1856, the *Chronicle*’s influence sharply declined, its quality eroded, and it soon ceased publication.

Soulé’s assistant editors at the time of Pratt’s correspondence—Hittell and James Nisbet—also brought significant experience to the paper. Hittell later wrote several books on early California, and Nisbet, a Scotsman, collaborated with Soulé and John H. Gihon in writing the classic *Annals of San Francisco* (1855).⁴¹ The articles on Pratt lacked bylines, so it cannot be determined who authored the pieces; however, the prominence of the commentary on Pratt in the *Chronicle*’s pages strongly suggests that the editors assumed the primary role in shaping the portrayal of Pratt and Mormonism.

Pratt’s tone became more inflammatory in a September 1854 letter to the *Christian Advocate*, a Methodist paper, which had printed excerpts from an anti-Mormon book by Benjamin Ferris, a former federal official in Utah, which Pratt considered insufficiently “decent

³⁹Parley P. Pratt, Letter to John Hittell, 1 September 1854, printed in “A Prophet Is Among Us,” *Daily California Chronicle*, 2 September 1854.

⁴⁰Richard H. Dillon, “Introduction,” *The Annals of San Francisco* (Palo Alto, Calif.: Lewis Osborne, 1966), xvii.

⁴¹Dillon, “Introduction,” xiii-xxii.

to be read in a brothel.”⁴² Pratt’s letter, reprinted in the *Chronicle*, warned the “Priests, Editors—hypocrites” of the *Advocate* to “*tremble*—for God will not suffer such lies to be published with impunity much longer.” Pratt condemned both the editors and “those who patronize your publication” to the “lowest hell” and asserted that their “hands will be found dripping with innocent blood.”⁴³ In response to this diatribe, the *Advocate* satirically responded, “To have such a man possessed of divine authority, and capable of raising the dead, threaten us so, is truly awful. . . . A few more such will cause us to retire to private life.”⁴⁴ Brigham Young, without knowledge of Pratt’s letter, cautioned him not to discuss Ferris’s book, stating that the “let alone policy is the only one to be pursued in this matter both publicly & privately,” because additional publicity would spur greater sales.⁴⁵ Young’s warning arrived well after Pratt’s attack, but it may have helped shape Pratt’s later articles, which primarily concentrated on positively portraying Mormon doctrine rather than simply responding to specific attacks.

Pratt gave titles to his own letters—in reality, short essays—and the *Chronicle* printed them, not in a letters to the editor section familiar to contemporary readers, but usually under satiric headlines of its own and preceded by long editorial statements openly critical of his purposes. Apparently the *Chronicle* published the letters themselves completely and without editorial changes, since Pratt never complained of either truncation or meddling with his prose. Pratt covered a variety of subjects from general Mormon principles to somewhat obscure Mormon doctrine. In “What Is Mormonism?” Pratt provided a brief insight into his expansive view of the Church. For him, it consisted of “an emanation of Divine light,” which embraced “all the elements of a renewed and renovated system of social,

⁴²Benjamin G. Ferris, *Utah and the Mormons* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1854); Parley P. Pratt, San Francisco, Letter to Family, Salt Lake City, 22 August 1854, Parley P. Pratt Collection, LDS Church Archives.

⁴³Parley P. Pratt, Letter to Editors of *Christian Advocate*, September 1854, printed in “Peter Parley Pratt on San Francisco Editors,” *Daily California Chronicle*, 23 September 1854.

⁴⁴Pratt, *Autobiography*, 379-80.

⁴⁵Brigham Young, Salt Lake City, Letter to Parley P. Pratt, San Francisco, 19 October 1854, Parley P. Pratt Collection, LDS Church Archives.

moral, political, and spiritual order." He concluded, "In short, it is the reign of Heaven commenced on the earth."⁴⁶ In a later article, Pratt addressed "Spiritual Philosophy," a main subject of his *Key to the Science of Theology*. He argued for the materialism of spirit (i.e., that the soul of man and the Holy Spirit are composed of very refined matter) and stated his version of the laws of the physical universe.⁴⁷

In his essay "The Bible!" Pratt decried the "arrogance and infidelity" of the Protestant world's abandonment of biblical doctrine for modern principles. He declared that the Bible is a "Mormon' book, *in toto*," and suggested that the congruence of the Bible and Mormonism on subjects such as "its laws of marriage, [and] its theocratic institutions," would cause the world to either reject the Bible or embrace Mormonism.⁴⁸ Pratt's letters also conveyed his apocalyptic worldview. In two separate letters, he traced the ultimate fate of the Old World and of the United States, warning of the various calamities that would occur before the Millennium, and of the ultimate triumph of Christ's people. Denouncing the wickedness of the American people, he singled out their "treatment of the Mormons, the Indians, and the negroes" for condemnation. Pratt prophesied that after great destruction, the western hemisphere would be united in "one great harmonial government," with its capital at the Mormon Zion of Independence, Missouri, which would be known as the New Jerusalem.⁴⁹

⁴⁶Parley P. Pratt, Santa Clara, Letter to the Editor entitled "What Is 'Mormonism,'" 2 November 1854, printed in "Another 'Ism' Finding Its 'Truth' and Making the Most of It," *Daily California Chronicle*, 8 November 1854. Pratt spent considerable time—including October, November, and part of February—in Santa Clara, where he continued his correspondence with the *Chronicle*. The larger San Francisco papers were generally distributed in neighboring cities and gold-mining camps.

⁴⁷Parley P. Pratt, Santa Clara, Letter to the Editor titled "Spiritual Philosophy," 14 November 1854, printed in *Daily California Chronicle*, 23 November 1854. Pratt first learned the concept of materialism of spirit, which was a favorite subject in his writing, from Joseph Smith. See David M. Grant, "Matter," *Encyclopedia of Mormonism*, 4 vols. (New York: Macmillan Publishing Company, 1991), 2:868-69.

⁴⁸Parley P. Pratt, Letter to the Editor titled "The Bible!" printed in "Rattles and Bubbles," *Daily California Chronicle*, 26 January 1855.

⁴⁹Parley P. Pratt, Santa Clara, Letter to "People of California,"

During the period of Pratt's correspondence with the *Chronicle*, the paper also took regular aim at spiritualism, then influential in the city, and compared the zeal of the Mormons and the spiritualists. "Enthusiasts in any 'ism,'" the *Chronicle* opined, fail to see the "irrational, inconsistent, impracticable and ridiculous aspects of their hobby." Furthermore, they focus on "certain fancied bright sides, which their heated brains rub and polish till the sight dazzles and confounds cold, pure reason."⁵⁰ The *Chronicle's* sarcasm perhaps reached its zenith in the paper's commentary on Pratt's millenarian prophecies: "Is there a devil or a god among us? Is he inspired or does he rave only and is mad? Is he forthwith to follow Elijah of old or to be quietly translated to a cell at [the insane asylum in] Stockton?" With mock wistfulness, the paper yearned for greater specificity. Pratt's prophecies would have been "a little more satisfactory if [they] had only contained a few dates. The day, month, year, or even century," would have greatly improved his statements.⁵¹ After the publication of Pratt's first apocalyptic letter, which had freely interspersed phrases from Zechariah 14 with his own prose, the *Chronicle* accused him of plagiarism. While granting that perhaps in a "divine sense" it was not plagiarism, the well-read *Chronicle* writer decided that Pratt, as a "mere literary artist," deserved "severe condemnation for palming off as his own what Zechariah had already given as his, or rather as the Lord's."⁵²

entitled "The Future—A Prophecy," 5 February 1855, printed in "The Prophet Pee Pee Pratt on the Oracular Tripod: The Sad Fate of the Old World," *Daily California Chronicle*, 10 February 1855; and "The Prophet 'Parley Parker Pratt' Once More—The American Future—A Prophecy," *Daily California Chronicle*, 27 February 1855.

⁵⁰"Another 'Ism' Finding Its 'Truth.'"

⁵¹"The Prophet Pee Pee Pratt on the Oracular Tripod."

⁵²"The Prophet 'Parley Parker Pratt' Once More." In response, Pratt explained that he had used biblical phrases without attribution because of widespread disregard of the Bible among the populace. He stated, "Now—thanks to the *Chronicle*!—the people will discover that my predictions are scriptural, and will no longer believe a word of them. Well, be that as it may, the predictions are true—and truth must take care of itself." Parley P. Pratt, San Francisco, Letter to the Editor, 1 March 1855, printed as "Apology and Explanations from Mr. Pratt in Regard to His Prophecies," *Daily California Chronicle*, 2 March 1855.

Even the manner in which the *Chronicle* referred to Pratt was steeped in sarcasm. Among other titles, the *Chronicle* called him the Right Reverend Archbishop, the High Priest of San Francisco, Saint Parley, and "Prophet, Apostle, Elder, or whatever else he calls himself."⁵³ Further, it initially identified him as Peter Parley Pratt, then correctly as Parley Parker Pratt, then Parley Peter Pratt, and finally, given Pratt's propensity to sign his letters "P. P. Pratt," as Pee Pee Pratt.⁵⁴ Pitching a fit of pretended exasperation, the paper designated him as "Mr. Parley-Peter, or Patrick, or Prattle, or Parson, or ——— Pratt (we have forgotten the gentleman's middle name.)"⁵⁵

References to plural marriage constantly appeared in Pratt's letters, as well as in the *Chronicle's* responses. In a letter to Young in October 1854, Pratt, who married twelve women and fathered thirty children, wrote that "plurality is a choker," a major obstacle to Mormonism's progress in San Francisco.⁵⁶ Pratt's frequent discussions of polygamy resulted from a pragmatic recognition that, to win converts, he needed to first "satisfy their minds" on the practice of polygamy "before they can possibly be satisfied with our preaching."⁵⁷ Indeed, in a city with a striking gender imbalance, polygamy must have been an especially tough sell.⁵⁸ Nevertheless, in Novem-

⁵³"Rattles and Bubbles."

⁵⁴"Peter Parley" was a popular nineteenth-century fictional character created by author Samuel Griswold Goodrich. A "gouty old gentleman eager to instruct children," Peter Parley narrated immensely popular children's schoolbooks; roughly twelve million copies of his books sold during the 1800s. See Karen N. Schramm, "Samuel Griswold Goodrich," in *American National Biography*, edited by John A. Garraty and Mark C. Carnes (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999), 9:265-66.

⁵⁵"Pee Pee Pratt on Things in California," *Daily California Chronicle*, 6 April 1855.

⁵⁶Parley P. Pratt, San Francisco, Letter to Brigham Young, Salt Lake City, 25 October 1854, Brigham Young Collection, LDS Church Archives, published in *Deseret News*, 4 January 1855.

⁵⁷Parley P. Pratt, San Francisco, Letter to Brigham Young, Salt Lake City, 18 December 1854, Brigham Young Collection, LDS Church Archives, published in *Deseret News*, 8 February 1854.

⁵⁸For an intriguing discussion of the ways in which the gender imbalance complicated the work of evangelical Protestant missionaries, see Maffly-Kipp, *Religion and Society in Frontier California*, 148-80.

ber, Pratt issued a challenge to the city, stating that he would “meet a convention of the ablest lawyers and clergy” to debate polygamy, using the “Old and New Testaments, the constitution and laws of the United States, and the laws of Utah” as the standard to determine whether plural marriage was a “*crime, a transgression of law, or an immorality*.”⁵⁹ To silence Pratt’s taunt, the Oakland Lyceum accepted his challenge and publicly invited him to a meeting of the society to debate the proposition that “Polygamy is sanctioned by the Law of God—the Laws of Nature—and the Laws of Man.”⁶⁰ Pratt debated at the Lyceum on 17 December before “a large assembly of both sexes” and recorded that “truth was triumphant, and my adversaries confounded.”⁶¹

The Mercantile Library Debating Society of San Francisco also accepted Pratt’s earlier challenge in December 1854. While the official topic was whether Brigham Young should be reappointed governor of Utah, the debate centered on polygamy. Leading the charge against Pratt was M. C. Briggs, a crusading Methodist minister and editor of the *Christian Advocate* who had previously sparred with Pratt in that role. Pratt primarily presented the biblical basis of polygamy, asserting that the Mormons were spiritual heirs of the Old Testament patriarchs. He particularly bristled at Briggs’s insinuation that no differences existed “between Polygamy and adultery; between a house full of wives and children and a house full of harlots.” The principle of plural marriage, Pratt asserted, led to the “highest order of physical, moral and intellectual development,” which would stand in stark contrast to the “degenerate” race produced by the “whoredoms in modern Christendom.” Finally, Pratt praised the U.S. Constitution and stated that the government lacked power to deprive citizens of their “most sacred rights of conscience in regard to marriage relations or family ties.”⁶²

⁵⁹Parley P. Pratt, Santa Clara, Letter to the Editor, 22 November 1854, printed as “A Challenge!” *Daily California Chronicle*, 25 November 1854; emphasis his.

⁶⁰“The ‘Challenge’ Accepted,” *Daily California Chronicle*, 13 December 1854.

⁶¹Pratt, *Autobiography*, 388. He does not identify who took the other side. See also Parley P. Pratt Scrapbook, LDS Church Archives, for responses from the Oakland Lyceum to Pratt’s challenge printed in other local newspapers.

The coverage of this debate reveals the difference in tone between the *Alta* and the *Chronicle*. The *Alta* professed “considerable respect [for Pratt] as a man and as a teacher,” and declared that he had “walked into the temples of our money changers in this city, and fairly put to flight all reason and philosophy by the boldness of his attack upon the Christian Church.” “Wheeling and charging his squadron of Polygamic arguments,” Pratt had emerged as the clear victor, proving that “there really appears to be no law to prevent polygamy.” The *Alta* called for a David to go “forth against this Philistine to meet him on either point of law, morality, or religion” to preserve the honor of Christianity in San Francisco.⁶³ The *Chronicle* somewhat begrudgingly admitted that Pratt’s arguments were “sensible and he was listened to with attention.” However, it did not share the *Alta*’s concern for San Franciscan Christianity; it perceived Pratt, not as a threat, but as merely “very interesting and amusing.”⁶⁴ In his report, Pratt also claimed victory and stated that one-third of “a crowded house, of Lawyers, priests, Editors, [and] Merchants” supported Young’s reappointment and that others had defended the practice of polygamy as constitutional.⁶⁵

Besides the debates, the San Francisco newspapers found several opportunities to report on Mormonism and Pratt, with polygamy as the favored theme. Both the *Chronicle* and the *Alta California* reprinted portions of articles from the *Deseret News*, particularly Pratt’s letters describing conditions in California. The *Alta*, while making clear that it did not sympathize with polygamy or Mormonism, rarely commented on the articles they reprinted. For the *Chronicle*, however, every reprint represented an opportunity to mock Mormonism. In quoting significant portions of sermons from “Pope Brigham Young” and from Heber C. Kimball, “one of the cracked priests of the tribe,” the *Chronicle* emphasized familiar complaints

⁶²Pratt, *Autobiography*, 384-88.

⁶³Untitled article, *Daily Alta California*, 11 December 1854, 1.

⁶⁴“Parley Parker in the Mercantile Library,” *Daily California Chronicle*, 9 December 1854.

⁶⁵Pratt, Letter to Young, 18 December 1854. See also Pratt, *Autobiography*, 383-88, for a copy of Pratt’s speech during the debate. Unfortunately, very few issues of M. C. Briggs’s paper, the *California Christian Advocate*, are extant.

about Salt Lake harems and Mormon theocratic power.⁶⁶ The *Chronicle* often repeated these central images, accusing Pratt of “scandalizing and affrighting decent men and women” with his teachings on plural marriage, and attempting to establish the “religious necessity of indulging in a harem.”⁶⁷

The *Alta* generally accorded Mormonism and Pratt more favorable treatment, but it too denounced polygamy and warned of Mormon expansion. Lamenting that Mormons “with all their socialistic doctrines and religious peculiarities” stood in the way of national progress, the *Alta* condemned plural marriage as barbaric, illegal, and unchristian.⁶⁸ Likewise, on the rare occasions when the *Alta* editorialized on articles reprinted from the *Deseret News*, it stressed that the Mormons are a “strange people” and that the “insulting, menacing tone of Brigham Young foreshadows trouble” with newly appointed territorial officials.⁶⁹ However, as Pratt had commented in 1851, the *Alta* contained favorable reports of Mormon industry. Just prior to Pratt’s mission, the *Alta* approvingly stated, “It is worthy of notice that the discoverer of gold, the first farmer, and the wealthiest man in California, are or were all Mormons.”⁷⁰ Toward the end of Pratt’s mission, the *Alta* commented on the Mormon colony at San Bernardino, founded in 1851 under the direction of Apostles Amasa M. Lyman and Charles C. Rich. Though the houses generally had an “appearance of extreme poverty,” the *Alta* wrote that the colony had achieved much success, especially considering that the citizens paid tithes “punctually and cheerfully.” It likewise dismissed the faults of the local bishop (William Crosby)—a “rough specimen of humanity” with little “taste for intellectual pleasures”—as the price of hard work, though the article contained the common complaint about Mormon bloc voting and political power.⁷¹

⁶⁶“More Gems from Mormons,” *Daily California Chronicle*, 4 November 1854.

⁶⁷“Are There Devils Among Us Quoting Scriptures?” *Daily California Chronicle*, 29 November 1854.

⁶⁸*Daily Alta California*, 8 November 1854.

⁶⁹*Daily Alta California*, 7 April 1855.

⁷⁰*Daily Alta California*, 5 April 1854, quoted in Edward Leo Lyman, *San Bernardino: The Rise and Fall of a California Community* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1996), 135. The three are Henry W. Bigler, John M. Horner, and Samuel Brannan.

The hunger for Mormon news from the press and the populace can be seen in Pratt's report of an arrival of mail from Utah in April 1855 which included several issues of the *Deseret News*. "All the City Papers" subsequently published articles on Mormonism, with a common focus on Brigham Young's speech on 18 February 1855, in which he praised Colonel Edward J. Steptoe, who had recently refused a presidential appointment to replace Young as governor. While most of the press "hardly credited" the more extreme portrayals of a few papers, Pratt complained that even the more positive accounts misconstrued Young's intentions. Indeed, Young "was made 'an offender for a word' [and] 'the just' was turned 'aside for a thing of naught.'" ⁷² Additionally, Pratt's notoriety provides further evidence of the public interest in Mormonism. He had gained sufficient prominence that the *Alta* could refer to him by name only. ⁷³ Newspaper accounts also recorded that five hundred people witnessed a Mormon baptismal service, the vast majority of whom must have been curious on-lookers. ⁷⁴

Pratt penned his final article for the *Chronicle* in March 1855, but the paper continued to throw barbs in his direction for two more months. In describing a discourse the "Right Rev. Archbishop" Pratt gave at the "mosque," the newspaper reported Pratt's frustration at the pace of missionary work in San Francisco. According to the *Chronicle*, Pratt delivered "this wretched city into the hands of the enemy of mankind" and denounced its materiality and spiritual apathy, as evidenced by the few converts and the difficulties of his bookstore. "We are a lost people; we are 'gone-ers,'" the *Chronicle* exclaimed of San Franciscans, though it declared itself exempt from Pratt's condemnation, having graciously given him free publicity. The *Chronicle* also contained a warning to George Q. Cannon, who

⁷¹*Daily Alta California*, 1 June 1855.

⁷²Parley P. Pratt, San Francisco, Letter to Brigham Young, Salt Lake City, 12 April 1855, Brigham Young Collection, LDS Church Archives. Pratt is quoting Isaiah 29:21. See Leonard J. Arrington, *Brigham Young: American Moses* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1986), 247; and Brigham Young, 18 February 1855, *Journal of Discourses*, 26 vols. (London and Liverpool: LDS Booksellers Depot, 1855-86), 2:187-88.

⁷³*Daily Alta California*, 20 March 1855.

⁷⁴Dorothy H. Huggins, comp., *Continuation of the Annals of San Francisco* (San Francisco: California Historical Society, 1939), 37.

"will try his hand upon the obdurate San Franciscans next" and publish a newspaper, ironically suggesting that San Francisco was "scantly supplied" with them.⁷⁵

Why had Pratt continued to subject himself to the unsparing mockery the *Chronicle* heaped on him and his cause? And why had the *Chronicle* continued to publish his submissions? In an article entitled "Rattles and Bubbles" on 26 January 1855, the *Chronicle* explicitly answered these puzzling questions by comparing Mormonism to a beautiful bubble and a pleasing rattle, enjoyable to see and hear, but ultimately containing no substance. While noting the "humorous impudence in the patriarchal polygamist's manner" and conceding the "good deal of common sense and truth in his observations," it published Pratt's articles "only to amuse the public." In short, the sensational qualities of Mormonism sold papers. Explicating their symbiotic relationship, the *Chronicle* suggested that Pratt was pleased with any publicity as "he thinks the seed he scatters may fall on what he considers good soil."⁷⁶ The *Chronicle* even praised Pratt's common sense in recognizing that "it is better to be laughed at, than not to be talked of at all."⁷⁷

The consistency of Pratt's correspondence suggests the truth of the *Chronicle's* remark: for Pratt, any publicity, especially that over which he could exercise partial control, was better than no publicity. Pratt further indicated his pleasure with his journalistic success in a letter to Young, reporting that the "news paper channels have been opened to us a little—and we had Laid some truth before the public through their collum."⁷⁸ Later in his mission, he wrote Young that he was "still able to work upon the public mind more or less through the public press." Without mentioning the ironic introductions which preceded his articles, he exulted, "The 'California Chronicle' has never failed to publish any article from my pen," which caused other newspapers to be in a "stew and chafe continually."⁷⁹

⁷⁵"San Francisco Given Over," *Daily California Chronicle*, 22 May 1855. George Q. Cannon reached California in the summer of 1855 and published the *Western Standard* for almost two years.

⁷⁶"Rattles and Bubbles."

⁷⁷"Spiritual Philosophy."

⁷⁸Pratt, Letter to Young, 25 October 1854.

⁷⁹Pratt, Letter to Young, 15 February 1855. For example, the *Pacific*, a Congregationalist paper, "objected to publication of Mormon

The value Pratt placed on his correspondence with the newspapers is evidenced by the numerous clippings he sent to his family and Mormon leaders. Other Church newspapers, including the *Deseret News*, the *Millennial Star*, and the *St. Louis Luminary*, reprinted some of Pratt's articles.⁸⁰ The *Deseret News* likewise published excerpts of several of his letters to Brigham Young during this period and generally lauded Pratt's activities. His family kept his articles in a scrapbook made by pasting the clippings over pages of a copy of Lucy Mack Smith's *Biographical Sketches of Joseph Smith the Prophet*, and Pratt included four articles in his *Autobiography*.⁸¹ Church leaders, including Young and Historian George A. Smith, commented on the articles and encouraged Pratt to continue to use the press to his advantage.⁸²

Pratt's dire financial circumstances, and that of other Church members in San Francisco, may have forced him to rely on the press to increase the public visibility of Mormonism. Pratt, who in his travels often relied on the generosity of faithful Mormons, arrived in San Francisco in the midst of a business depression caused by overspeculation and diminished returns from gold mining. The depression only worsened during his stay and became a full-fledged banking crisis, which limited the amount local members—who numbered about 120 scattered among five branches—could give him.⁸³

communications." See Lotchin, *San Francisco*, 338, citing *Pacific*, 2 February 1855.

⁸⁰*St. Louis Luminary*, 24 February 1855, in *Journal History*, 27 February 1855, 3; "Elder P. P. Pratt in California," *Millennial Star* 17 (31 March 1855): 198-200.

⁸¹Parley P. Pratt, Scrapbook, LDS Church Archives, and Pratt, *Autobiography*, 378-82.

⁸²George A. Smith, Salt Lake City, Letter to Parley P. Pratt, San Francisco, 31 January 1855, Parley P. Pratt Collection, LDS Church Archives; Pratt, Letter to Young, 15 February 1855, in which Pratt stated, "I send most of the clippings home, in my letters to you & others."

⁸³Theodore H. Hittell, *History of California* (San Francisco: N. J. Stone & Co., 1898), 3:442-43. Theodore is John's brother. For the number of local members, see Parley P. Pratt, San Francisco, Letter to Ann Agatha Walker Pratt, Salt Lake City, 13 January 1855, Parley P. Pratt Collection, LDS Church Archives. The five branches were in San Francisco, Santa Clara, Union City, St. John, and Sacramento.

The financial plight of the California Saints is perhaps best exemplified by the troubles of John M. Horner. A *Brooklyn* Saint, Horner had previously shared the fortune he had amassed as the "First Farmer of California" with visiting Church leaders, including Pratt on his earlier mission. Horner, however, lost nearly everything during the financial depression, and Pratt wrote his family that "Br. Horner and others in this part, are worse off for money than I ever was—or ever expect to be. I pity them from my heart."⁸⁴

Consequently, Pratt complained of his personal debts and lamented that he did not possess "funds by which to print" and could "only buisy [sic] myself with writing and in the work of the ministry as the way opens."⁸⁵ Pratt also asked Young if locally collected tithing could be used to support him and other missionaries and to pay for printing expenses.⁸⁶ Young granted permission to "use small amounts" if it proved absolutely necessary but cautioned Pratt that Salt Lake City "is the point at which the tithing is most needed, and where it can be most used to the best advantage."⁸⁷ Throughout his stay in San Francisco, Pratt repeatedly lamented his financial difficulties, even claiming that "half the time" he lacked funds to mail letters to Salt Lake City. At one point, he said, "I have not even one dollar either to pay my house rent, (35 dol. per month) or to go to market."⁸⁸ He later moved to more modest lodgings, which rented for \$12 per month.⁸⁹ Pratt's financial problems appeared to have

⁸⁴Parley P. Pratt, San Francisco, Letter to Family, Salt Lake City, 22 August 1854, Parley P. Pratt Collection, LDS Church Archives. See also John M. Horner's autobiographical articles: "Adventures of a Pioneer," *Improvement Era* 7 (May-September 1904): 5-part series; and Horner, "Voyage of the Ship 'Brooklyn,'" *Improvement Era* 9 (August-September 1906): 2-part series; and Annaleone Davis Patton, *California Mormons by Sail and Trail* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1961).

⁸⁵Pratt, Letter to Family, 22 August 1854.

⁸⁶Parley P. Pratt, San Francisco, Letter to Brigham Young, Salt Lake City, 23 August 1854, Brigham Young Collection, LDS Church Archives.

⁸⁷Young, Letter to Pratt, 19 October 1854.

⁸⁸Parley P. Pratt, San Francisco, Letter to Brigham Young, Salt Lake City, 21 September 1854, Brigham Young Collection, LDS Church Archives; Parley P. Pratt, San Francisco, Letter to Mary Wood Pratt, Salt Lake City, 21 September 1854, Parley P. Pratt Collection, LDS Church Archives.

precluded publishing large numbers of pamphlets, a system he had relied on in earlier missions, and he turned to the free publicity of newspaper articles to advance his cause.

Pratt's ability to publish articles in the San Francisco press contributed to his sense of optimism about the prospects of Mormonism in California. Though Pratt complained in September 1854 that his efforts had failed to attract public attention, as "few will buy or read" Mormon tracts, within a month he reported enthusiastically to Young that "Judges, Lawyers, leading spirits, and many others have Listened with attention, and many are reading, and enquiring with deep interest." He predicted that Mormonism would attract many converts in California but cautioned that "so great a revolution of mind is not the work of a moment."⁹⁰ Pratt also recognized the possibility of success in San Francisco's heterogenous culture, reporting that immigrants from France, China, and Wales had demonstrated interest. In December, Pratt expressed even greater optimism, as "many leading minds in town, and country are considering 'mormonism' with deep attention, and some of the best embrace it."⁹¹ Pratt explicitly linked his interaction with the press to what he viewed as the renewed success of the missionary efforts. "The truth has kindled into a blaze," he declared, and would drive "the people to a revolution in public sentiment." Indeed, the newspapers, "though very corrupt, [have] been a providential means of agitating Mormonism & of desciminating much truth."⁹²

Pratt's optimism gradually faded into disappointment. In February 1855, he found that "there are but few in this country who feel interested in the Gospel, and but few who obey it." After opening a bookstore for a month and selling relatively few books, Pratt wrote, "The sheep are so wild, that they hardly dare venture to lick the salt."⁹³ Even with San Francisco's high demand for books, Pratt en-

⁸⁹Parley P. Pratt, San Francisco, Letter to Ann Agatha Walker Pratt, Salt Lake City, 24 February 1855, Parley P. Pratt Collection, LDS Church Archives.

⁹⁰Pratt, Letter to Young, 21 September 1854; Pratt, Letter to Young, 25 October 1854.

⁹¹Pratt, Letter to Young, 18 December 1854.

⁹²Parley P. Pratt, San Francisco, Letter to Brigham Young, Salt Lake City, 16 January 1855, Brigham Young Collection, LDS Church Archives.

⁹³Parley P. Pratt, Letter to Ann Agatha Walker Pratt, 24 February

tered an already saturated market, as the city claimed forty booksellers for a population of 40,000 in 1856.⁹⁴ For the first three months of 1855, Pratt reported twenty baptisms and requested two thousand copies of his newly published *Key to the Science of Theology*, as well as copies of other Mormon books from the Church publishing office in England.⁹⁵ However, even with these baptisms and the brief optimism he felt about his bookstore, his letters became increasingly frustrated about his lack of missionary work and with expectations of his return home.⁹⁶

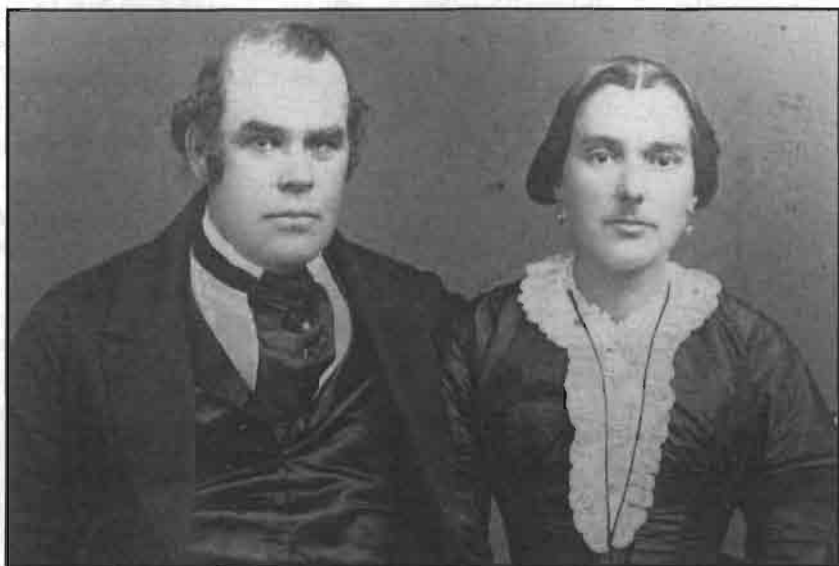
Although Pratt endured, he did not enjoy, the withering criticism of the *Chronicle* that was the price of publication; and he envisioned establishing a Mormon paper in San Francisco as early as 1853. Much of his correspondence with Young in the early months of 1855 details his efforts to establish the *Mormon Herald*, which he believed would greatly increase Mormon influence in the region,

1855; Parley P. Pratt, Letter to Ann Agatha Walker Pratt, 22 March 1855, Parley P. Pratt Collection, LDS Church Archives. In late February, Pratt received a shipment of about 3,400 books and pamphlets from Franklin D. Richards in Liverpool, which included five hundred copies each of the Book of Mormon, the Doctrine and Covenants, hymnals, and Lucy Mack Smith's *Biographical Sketches of Joseph Smith*. The shipment also included between a hundred and three hundred copies of popular Mormon pamphlets such as Pratt's *Voice of Warning* (300), John Lyon's *Harb of Zion* (200), and the *Pearl of Great Price* (300). See Franklin D. Richards, Liverpool, Letter to Parley P. Pratt, San Francisco, 31 August 1854, Parley P. Pratt Collection, LDS Church Archives; and Parley P. Pratt, San Francisco, Letter to Franklin D. Richards, Liverpool, *Millennial Star* 17 (26 May 1855): 331-32.

⁹⁴Hugh Sanford Cheney Baker, "A History of the Book Trade in California, 1849-1859," *California Historical Quarterly* 30 (June/September 1951): 353.

⁹⁵Parley P. Pratt, San Francisco, Letter to Franklin D. Richards, Liverpool, England, 24 March 1855, *Millennial Star* 17 (26 May 1855): 331-32. For information on the publication of *Key to the Science of Theology*, see Whittaker, "Parley P. Pratt and the Pacific Mission," 61-63.

⁹⁶Pratt was also preoccupied with organizing a group of about fifty Saints from Santa Clara and a few returning missionaries who left for Utah 30 April 1855. Parley P. Pratt, San Juan, California, Letter to George A. Smith, Salt Lake City, 30 April 1855, George A. Smith Collection, LDS Church Archives.



Parley P. Pratt and Elizabeth Brotherton Pratt, San Francisco, September 1854. Courtesy Historical Department, Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints.

facilitated by San Francisco's central location.⁹⁷ However, the prospectus for the paper, issued in March 1855, elicited little excitement from local members of the Church, though more distant leaders heaped praise on the proposal.⁹⁸ Local Mormons argued that San Francisco was already saturated with newspapers and that a Mormon paper, with its extremely limited audience, would surely fail. Pratt, discouraged and anxious to return to his large family, began making preparations to return to Salt Lake in June; and even the arrival of the press, shipped from Boston and paid for with funds raised by missionaries in Hawaii, failed to change his mind. By May, he had abandoned his newspaper project and stated that the press "awaits

⁹⁷Whittaker, "Parley P. Pratt and the Pacific Mission," 64.

⁹⁸See Franklin D. Richards, Liverpool, England, Letter to Parley P. Pratt, San Francisco, 25 May 1855, Parley P. Pratt Collection, LDS Church Archives; and Francis A. Hammond, Lahaina, Sandwich Islands, Letter to Parley P. Pratt, San Francisco, 12 April 1855, Parley P. Pratt Collection, LDS Church Archives.

the actions" of George Q. Cannon, whose assistance Pratt had requested.⁹⁹

On 20 June, Pratt left San Francisco, unaware that Young had appointed Cannon at April general conference of the Church and that Cannon was already on his way. Cannon, then twenty-eight, would eventually become one of Mormonism's most prominent leaders. From 1850 to 1854 he had served as a missionary in Hawaii, and Young commissioned him to print a Hawaiian translation of the Book of Mormon in San Francisco. He arrived a few days after Pratt's departure and quickly caught up with him. Pratt, however, refused to return and instead designated Cannon as president of the Pacific Mission, giving him immense ecclesiastical and administrative responsibilities in addition to responsibility for the newspaper.¹⁰⁰

Cannon succeeded in publishing the *Western Standard* for twenty-two months beginning in February 1856.¹⁰¹ The newspaper's motto expressed the Mormon desire to defend itself through the press: "To Correct Mis-Representation We Adopt Self-Representation."¹⁰² In the first issue, he justified the enterprise: "We have long needed a press; our enemies have had the privilege for years of giving publicity to the doctrines and views of our Church; they have maligned, vilified and misrepresented us." Clearly, Pratt's writing for non-Mormon papers was intended as a transitional phase until the Church could establish its own newspaper, as both Pratt's personal history and the standard procedures of the Church suggested he would do.

Cannon likewise sparred with the San Francisco press, particu-

⁹⁹Parley P. Pratt, San Francisco, Letter to Brigham Young, Salt Lake City, 18 May 1855, Brigham Young Collection, LDS Church Archives.

¹⁰⁰George Q. Cannon, *Writings from the "Western Standard," Published in San Francisco, California* (Liverpool, Eng.: George Q. Cannon, 1864), vii, and Ekins, *Defending Zion*, 42-45.

¹⁰¹The best study of Cannon and the *Western Standard* is Ekins, *Defending Zion*. See also Whittaker, "Parley P. Pratt and the Pacific Mission," 64-70; Lawrence R. Flake, "George Q. Cannon's Mission to California, 1855-1857," in *Regional Studies in Latter-day Saint Church History: California*, edited by David F. Boone and others (Provo, Utah: BYU Department of Church History and Doctrine, 1998), 81-105; and Davis Bitton, *George Q. Cannon: A Biography* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1999), 69-87.

¹⁰²See masthead reproduced in Ekins, *Defending Zion*, 42-43.

larly over the practice of plural marriage. Even without Pratt as a target for their articles, the press continued to gravitate to stories regarding Utah polygamy and Mormon society. Like Pratt, Cannon's bold responses sometimes bordered on scathing. For example, in responding to an antipolygamy article in the *Alta*, he commented that he had never read "more silly, baseless arguments."¹⁰³ The establishment of the printing press also allowed Cannon to defend plural marriage through pamphlets, including publishing Pratt's "Scriptural Evidence in Support of Polygamy: Being an Address Entitled Marriage and Morals in Utah" (1856). Cannon also published some of Pratt's writings in the *Western Standard*.¹⁰⁴

Pratt remained a polarizing figure in the San Francisco press even after he left, and his assassination in May 1857 ignited a journalistic furor. Hector McLean, the estranged husband of Pratt's last plural wife, Eleanor McComb McLean (whom Pratt had first met in San Francisco during his 1854-55 California mission), killed Pratt in Arkansas.¹⁰⁵ Pratt's murder had all the elements of a stirring newspaper drama for the San Francisco papers—violence, religion, potential sexual scandal, and a recent local connection. The newspapers responded predictably, with the *Western Standard* defending Pratt's honor and lauding him as a martyr, and other newspaper deriding him as a religious fanatic and seducer of other men's wives. William H. Shearman, who assisted Cannon at the *Western Standard*, proclaimed, "Parley's name will be embalmed in the hearts of millions and will be handed down to posterity as that of a noble philanthropist and a martyr to the cause of truth." More darkly, he added that God "will make requisition for blood." Similarly, George Q. Cannon asserted Pratt's innocence and praised him as a "holy and pure man."¹⁰⁶

Other newspapers, however, quickly celebrated the news. The

¹⁰³Cannon, *Writings from the "Western Standard,"* 213. For analysis of the newspaper war over polygamy, see Ekins, *Defending Zion*, 169-208.

¹⁰⁴Ekins, *Defending Zion*, 311-12.

¹⁰⁵Steven Pratt, "Eleanor McLean and the Murder of Parley P. Pratt," *BYU Studies* 15 (Winter 1975): 225-56.

¹⁰⁶Shearman, "Assassination of President P. P. Pratt," *Western Standard*, 3 July 1857; and Cannon, "Assassination of President P. P. Pratt," *Western Standard*, 17 July 1857, both reproduced in Ekins, *Defending Zion*, 316-18, 324-27.

Alta repeatedly referred to Pratt as “that hoary-headed seducer” and asked, “who of us shall blame [McLean], or say that, under the circumstances, we would have acted otherwise?” Indeed, reasoned the *Alta*, McLean’s actions revealed that “Mormonism is ripe for dissolution—ripe and ready to fall and putrefy with its own innate rottenness.” Furthermore, when news of the Mountain Meadows Massacre arrived a few months later in October 1857, the California press attributed the bloodshed to anger over the death of “the Sainted Parley.”¹⁰⁷

Even with the generally negative tone of the San Francisco newspapers, both the national and the Mormon press perceived that the Church, led locally by Pratt, enjoyed somewhat greater respect in San Francisco than in other areas. The *St. Louis Luminary*, a Mormon paper, republished an article from the *St. Louis Intelligence* which lamented that, in California, Mormon elders enjoyed such respect that “Christian ministers there cannot afford to meet them with contempt, but are compelled by force of public opinion, as well as by a sense of duty, to meet them in public debate and attempt the serious refutation of errors, which five years ago, were met by a smile of pity or a sneer of contempt.”¹⁰⁸ Certainly, several factors—including the diversity and relative tolerance of gold-rush San Francisco, the prior involvement of the *Brooklyn Saints* and the Mormon Battalion, and the preaching and writing of Pratt and other missionaries—contributed to this situation. Even so, the biting commentary of the press suggests that the Church could claim relatively little admiration in the city and that the newspapers used Pratt for their own objectives. Nevertheless, Pratt, through his own writing talent and the public’s interest in Mormonism, also used the mainstream San Francisco press to accomplish his goals of presenting the Mormon side of the debate and of increasing the Church’s public visibility.

¹⁰⁷“The Killing of Pratt—Letter from McLean,” *Alta California*, 9 July 1857; “The Beginning of the End,” *Alta California*, 15 July 1857; John Nugent, “Topics of the Day,” *San Francisco Herald*, 12 October 1857, all reproduced in Ekins, *Defending Zion*, 319-24, 368.

¹⁰⁸*St. Louis Luminary*, 24 February 1855, in *Journal History*, 27 February 1855, 3.

EPILOGUE TO THE UTAH WAR: IMPACT AND LEGACY

William P. MacKinnon

“To be killed by an Indian, buried in a ditch and have your name spelled wrong in the newspapers.” — The likely fate of a frontier cavalryman, according to Delos B. Sacket, Second U.S. Dragoons¹

The Utah War of 1857-58 was the armed conflict over power and authority in Utah Territory between Mormon leaders and U.S. President James Buchanan. Perceiving a rebellion in Utah, Buchanan moved to replace Brigham Young as governor in May 1857

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¹Quoted in Samuel Wragg Ferguson, “The Utah Expedition in 1857, under General Albert Sydney Johnston to Salt Lake City, to Install Governor Cummings [sic],” typescript, Ferguson Papers, Special Collections, Hill Memorial Library, Louisiana State University, Baton Rouge.

and to provide his successor, Alfred Cumming, with a large expeditionary escort that eventually involved nearly one-third of the U.S. Army. Young mobilized the Utah Territorial Militia (Nauvoo Legion), proclaiming martial law, and launching a guerrilla campaign that forced the army's Utah Expedition to winter at Fort Bridger, which the legion had burned in October 1857. A compromise in the spring of 1858 allowed the change of governors. The army garrisoned Utah but not its cities, and Buchanan issued a blanket pardon to Utah's entire population.² As the nation's most extensive and expensive military undertaking during the period between the Mexican and Civil wars, the Utah War of 1857-58 was the antebellum American West's biggest show, a magnet for the adventuresome and an ordeal for the innocent that tested the mettle of all involved.

On the federal side alone, the campaign's scope, prospects for adventure, and financial opportunities attracted an extraordinary cast of characters: politicians, office-seekers, heroes, villains, generals-in-waiting, scouts, British remittance men, European scientists, photographers, the descendant of a Polish king, college drop-outs, illiterates, gamblers, merchants, Boston Brahmins, entrepreneurs, mediators, war correspondents, black slaves, novelists, turncoats, Mexican mountaineers, explorers, and prostitutes, not to mention large numbers of ordinary people who struggled with both political ambiguity and appalling physical hardship to do their duty.

Among the Mormons caught up in the Utah War, the sociological blend was equally rich but tipped considerably more toward those not seeking adventure but deeply involved because of their

²Norman F. Furniss, *The Mormon Conflict, 1850-1859* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1960), my "Utah Expedition, or Utah War," in *New Encyclopedia of the American West*, edited by Howard R. Lamar (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1998), 1149-51; my "Utah War (1857-1858)," in *Ground Warfare: An International Encyclopedia*, edited by Stanley L. Sandler (Santa Barbara: ABC-CLIO, 2002), 913-14. The principal atrocity of the campaign, not examined in this article because of extensive analysis elsewhere, was the Mountain Meadows Massacre on 11 September 1857. See Will Bagley, *Blood of the Prophets: Brigham Young and the Massacre at Mountain Meadows* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2002) and Juanita L. Brooks, *The Mountain Meadows Massacre* (1950; 2d ed., Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1962).

religiously motivated presence in Utah and their church's unprecedented armed confrontation with the national government. If the innocents on the federal side marched west in brigade strength, those among the Latter-day Saints mustered in for their duty, as Brigham Young defined it, in even larger cohorts. Here was American warfare with an apostolic—even prophetic—overlay. Alternating between their overlapping militia and religious-civilian roles was an eclectic roster of Mormon farmers, scouts, explorers, spies, missionaries, Mexican War veterans, diplomats, tribal leaders, forty-niners, purchasing agents, gun runners, weapons designers, scientists, lobbyists, editors, lawyers, propagandists, and—in a few extreme cases—ecclesiastical assassins and mass murderers.

The Native Americans involved were viewed as Israelite Lamanites by one side and as savages by the other. These Utes, Paiutes, Bannocks, Delawares, Mojaves, and Northern Shoshones moved ghost-like and largely undocumented through and around both armed factions, each of which struggled to neutralize if not manipulate them. In the midst of this fray stood Washakie, a dignified Shoshone warrior-statesman whose incredibly long life spanned U.S. presidential administrations from Thomas Jefferson to Theodore Roosevelt.

What happened to all of these people after the U.S. Army's Utah Expedition marched through Salt Lake City on 26 June 1858? For many participants, the Utah War was their brightest adventure, providing colorful stories of the move south,³ Lot Smith's raids, the brutal march to Fort Bridger, or the winter of hungry frustration at Camp Scott.⁴ These tales provided moments of glamour in the

³The move south (often capitalized by historians) was the evacuation of northern Utah beginning in late March 1858 when Brigham Young decided on a strategic withdrawal rather than armed confrontation in the Wasatch Mountains. In an organized mass migration virtually unique in American history, an estimated thirty thousand Latter-day Saints prepared their homes for destruction and headed for Utah Valley, pending removal to an unspecified destination widely believed to be Mexican Sonora. After the conflict was resolved, the refugees returned home in July 1858. Richard D. Poll, "The Move South," *BYU Studies* 29 (Fall 1989): 65-88.

⁴On the night of 4-5 October 1857, first at Green River and then at Big Sandy in what is now southwestern Wyoming, Nauvoo Legion Major Lot Smith and a small mounted detachment burned three unprotected

largely anonymous lives of workaday responsibilities, accomplishments, and disappointments that followed.

But for a smaller group on both sides, the Utah War was a foundational experience, perhaps even an epiphany, which launched even more heroic and tragic adventures. The Utah War forms an exotic but largely unrecognized connection among rich, colorful, and fascinating personal stories. These individuals and the powerful forces of economics, geography, and politics helped shape post-1858 Mormonism, Utah, and the West. This article illuminates the personal stories and societal forces set in motion by this massive federal military intervention, recreating the compelling story of their impact and legacy, while answering the heretofore neglected question of what happened in their world and ours after 1858.

PERSONAL STORIES: THE PLAYERS

The Utah War was a conflict of character and, therefore, of characters. Sometimes the linkage between formative years spent in the Utah War and subsequent accomplishments or notoriety is obvious; in other instances, the connection is more subtle. This article focuses on seven principal groups: political leaders; U.S. soldiers; the Nauvoo Legion; camp followers; journalists; women; and scouts, guides, and explorers—all with extraordinary tales worth under-

trains, a total of about seventy-five wagons, owned by Russell, Majors, and Waddell hauling supplies for the Utah Expedition. This embarrassing multi-million-dollar loss of matériel shocked the army and the Buchanan administration into an awareness that bloodshed was imminent and resulted in federal grand jury treason indictments against dozens of Mormon leaders. Above all other actions in the Utah War, this raid was and is a source of Mormon military pride, a sentiment reinforced by LDS President Gordon B. Hinckley when he dedicated a new historical marker about the raid in 1997 near Farson, Wyoming. Ironically, vandals soon shot the marker to pieces, implying a continuing legacy of conflict. The U.S. Bureau of Land Management has restored this plaque. Lot Smith's narrative, heavily edited and polished by Junius F. Wells, appeared serially in 1882-83 issues of *The Contributor* and is most conveniently found in LeRoy R. and Ann W. Hafen, eds., *The Utah Expedition, 1857-1858: A Documentary Account of the United States Military Movement under Colonel Albert Sidney Johnston, and the Resistance by Brigham Young and the Mormon Nauvoo Legion* (1958; reprinted, Glendale, Calif.: Arthur H. Clark, 1982), 220-46.

standing in the context of this unusual military campaign that influenced them.

The Civilian Leaders and Politicians

For President James Buchanan and his cabinet, the Utah War, which occurred simultaneously with the uproar over "Bleeding Kansas," was a first, very early confrontation with the unnerving specter of civil disobedience, armed conflict, and a firestorm of public criticism. So anxious was Buchanan to extricate himself from the punishing financial and political costs of the Utah War that he, in effect, declared victory and, starting in 1858, permitted himself to be coopted by Brigham Young, Thomas L. Kane, and their alcoholic pawn Alfred Cumming, whom Buchanan had appointed as Young's replacement.⁵

This failure of nerve foreshadowed Buchanan's lawyerly but indecisive handling of the secession crisis of 1860-61, triggering highly emotional criticism which persists today. During the Civil War, feelings about the conflict's origins and carnage ran so high that Buchanan's Masonic lodge brothers guarded his home in Lancaster, Pennsylvania. Townspeople stopped speaking to him, among them James L. Reynolds, Buchanan's friend of fifty years, Reynolds's son, Major General John F. Reynolds, died at Gettysburg after two tours of army duty in Utah, first with Colonel Lieutenant E. J. Steptoe's 1854-55 expedition to Salt Lake City and then with Albert Sidney Johnston.⁶ Buchanan's personal physician, U.S. Navy Sur-

⁵Contrast Buchanan's relief over the war's apparent termination in his messages to Congress on 10 June and 6 December 1858, with the pessimism of John B. Floyd, the Secretary of War in December 1858. John Bassett Moore, ed., *The Works of James Buchanan Comprising His Speeches, State Papers, and Private Correspondence*, 12 vols. (New York: Antiquarian Press, 1960) Vol. 10 (1856-60): 217-18, 235-77. For Cumming's drinking, see Thomas L. Kane, Letter to Brigham Young, 24 July 1859, and Young, Letter to Kane, 15 December 1859, CR 1234/1, Boxes 40, 5, Brigham Young Collection, Archives, Family and Church History Department, Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City; hereafter LDS Church Archives.

⁶Buchanan has only two twentieth-century biographies: Philip S. Klein, *President James Buchanan: A Biography* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1962), and Elbert B. Smith, *The Presidency of James*

geon Jonathan M. Foltz, lived in the White House to treat Buchanan for a serious illness during the Utah crisis; but he ended up with such negative feelings about the Civil War that he legally changed his first-born son's middle name from Buchanan to Steinman. Four years after Buchanan's death, Foltz, writing to his son on the president's birthday, characterized Buchanan as "one of the wisest and one of the worst men ever born in America. He tried to dissolve the American Union and he stabbed the Democratic party to the heart."⁷ Almost twenty years after the Civil War when a Buchanan biography was published with the family's cooperation, Republican Senator Henry Cabot Lodge wrote a scathing review that excoriated Buchanan for mishandling the secession crisis.⁸ Buchanan's niece, Harriet Lane, provided substantial funds at the turn of the century to pay for a monument to her uncle; but it was not until 1930 that Congress provided land in an obscure Washington park upon which to erect it.⁹

Today, historians consistently group James Buchanan in the undistinguished company of Warren G. Harding and Millard Fill-

Buchanan (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1975). Both studies allocated fewer than ten paragraphs to the Utah War. William P. MacKinnon, "The Gap in the Buchanan Revival: The Utah Expedition of 1857-58," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 45 (Winter 1977): 36-46.

⁷Charles S. Foltz, *Surgeon of the Seas: The Adventurous Life of Jonathan M. Foltz in the Days of Wooden Ships* (Indianapolis, Ind.: Bobbs-Merrill, 1931), 339. Foltz retired as the U.S. Navy's surgeon general in 1872. His son became a general in the U.S. Army.

⁸Henry Cabot Lodge, "James Buchanan," *Atlantic Monthly* 52 (November 1883): 707-11, review of George Ticknor Curtis, *Life of James Buchanan, Fifteenth President of the United States*, 2 vols. (New York: Harper & Bros., 1883).

⁹Homer T. Rosenberger, "Two Monuments for the Fifteenth President of the United States," *Journal of the Lancaster County Historical Society* 78 (1974): 29-48. Harriet herself, with a reputation for charm and liveliness that stood her in good stead as the unmarried Buchanan's official hostess, is commemorated by two first-rate, national institutions: the Harriet Lane Pediatric Service at Johns Hopkins University School of Medicine; and *USCGC Harriet Lane* (WMEC 903), a large Coast Guard cutter stationed in Portsmouth, Virginia, that patrols the Atlantic and Caribbean.

more.¹⁰ During the Watergate hearings, a Congressional study of presidential misconduct by historian C. Vann Woodward concluded: "Much of the [historically] improper conduct had been practiced since [Andrew] Jackson's time, but it culminated and flourished most luxuriantly under Buchanan. . . . His administration marked the low point before the Civil War and somewhat approached later levels of corruption."¹¹

Just months before his death in 1868 at age seventy-eight, Buchanan resolved his long-standing ambivalence about religion and joined a Presbyterian church in Lancaster.¹² A forgiving Latter-day Saint performed vicarious ordinances of baptism and endowment on Buchanan's behalf in 1932 in the Salt Lake Temple.¹³ Today Buchanan's simple but handsome marble sarcophagus stands neglected in a declining Pennsylvania cemetery, adorned only by the White House's floral wreath, sent annually to all presidential graves. Bizarrely, James Arlington Bennett, an inactive general in the Nauvoo Legion, fawningly offered Buchanan a plot and elaborate monument in his Brooklyn, New York, cemetery at the beginning of the Utah War. Buchanan politely deflected the ludicrous offer: "Whether I shall be worthy of the distinguished honor . . . is a

¹⁰Arthur M. Schlesinger Jr., "The Ultimate Approval Rating," *New York Times Magazine*, 15 December 1996, 46-51. Nathan Miller, *Star-Spangled Men: America's Ten Worst Presidents* (New York: Scribner, 1998), 173-91, rates Buchanan as better only than Harding and Richard Milhous Nixon.

¹¹C. Vann Woodward, ed., *Responses of the Presidents to Charges of Misconduct* (New York: Dell Publishing, 1974), xvi.

¹²As U.S. president, Buchanan certainly prayed, read the Bible daily, attended Presbyterian services, was strongly influenced by minister John W. Nevin, and frequently alluded to God in his speeches, but for him religion was private, existing outside formal church membership. Theodore Appel, *The Life and Work of John Williamson Nevin, D.D., L.L.D.* (Philadelphia: Reformed Church Publication House, 1889), 601-4. The contrast with Brigham Young is marked.

¹³In 1877 at Wilford Woodruff's instigation, temple ordinances were performed for all U.S. presidents except for three "enemies" to Mormonism: Martin Van Buren, Zachary Taylor, and James Buchanan. Brian H. Stuy, "Wilford Woodruff's Vision of the Signers of the Declaration of Independence," *Journal of Mormon History* 26 (Spring 2000): 64-90.

question which cannot be wisely determined until after I shall have finished my course.”¹⁴

Mormon editor and historian T. B. H. Stenhouse wrote an obituary focused on the president’s “speculators’ war”:

Thenceforth, Mr. Buchanan’s star waned rapidly, until his name, like most of the others prominent in that foolish and wicked expedition, became a by-word and reproach throughout the whole Union. Had he not meddled with the Mormons, his reputation might have continued to increase with his increasing years, but he became a remarkable example of the folly of stepping forth from the path of duty to gain the favor of corrupt men, and the applause of the multitude, forgetting that favor is one of the most deceitful things in the world.¹⁵

Among Buchanan’s cabinet officers, Secretary of War John B. Floyd, the prime activist of the Utah War, was unquestionably the least capable. In December 1860 he resigned under pressure when a scandal erupted over his financing of the Utah War. In 1861 Floyd was indicted for malfeasance in office, and the U.S. Army changed the name of its principal garrison in Utah, then the nation’s largest, from Camp Floyd to Camp Crittenden, in honor of a U.S. senator. During the Civil War, Jefferson Davis appointed Floyd a Confederate brigadier but then, in 1862, relieved him of command after he disgracefully abandoned Fort Donelson, Tennessee, to Ulysses S. Grant. Plagued by poor health during Buchanan’s administration, Floyd died in Virginia of natural causes in 1863.¹⁶

¹⁴James Arlington Bennett, Letters to James Buchanan, 4 and 24 June 1857; Buchanan, Letter to Bennett, 1 July 1857, James Buchanan Papers, Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia.

¹⁵T. B. H. Stenhouse, “James Buchanan,” *Semi-Weekly Telegraph* (Salt Lake City), 4 June 1868, 3.

¹⁶Floyd’s only full-length biography is a somewhat sympathetic one: Charles Pinnegar, *Brand of Infamy: A Biography of John Buchanan Floyd* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 2002). During the 1930s, Robert M. Hughes, a Floyd relative, wrote a flurry of journal articles defending his conduct as secretary of war. For articles by non-relatives, see Philip G. Auchampaugh, “John B. Floyd and James Buchanan,” *Tyler’s Quarterly Historical and Genealogical Magazine* 4 (April 1923): 381-88, and John M. Belohlavek, “The Politics of Scandal: A Reassessment of John B. Floyd as Secretary of War,” *West Virginia History* 31 (April 1970): 145-60. For my

So many of Buchanan's cabinet officers either became Confederate generals or were perceived as southern sympathizers that soon after 1861 an enduring conspiracy theory arose to shape the historiography of the Utah War's origins. According to this theory, the southerners in Buchanan's cabinet formed a cabal to isolate the army and bankrupt the federal treasury as early as 1857. Compounding early enthusiasm for this theory was the obvious but irrelevant fact that, for the first year of the Civil War, the Utah Expedition's former commander, Albert Sidney Johnston, was the Confederacy's leading general. Nowhere has this fanciful—but typically American—notion been more vigorously embraced than in Utah, where it sometimes has been called the “flower of the army” conspiracy theory.¹⁷ Shortly after the Civil War, President Andrew Johnson pardoned Buchanan's former Secretary of the Treasury, Howell Cobb, and Jacob Thompson, former Secretary of the Interior, although both men had been senior Confederate army officers, and Thompson was briefly a suspect in the Lincoln assassination conspiracy. For Jacob Thompson, one of the Utah War's legacies was continuing legal harassment. In 1876 Zachariah Chandler, then Grant's Secretary of the Interior, sued him in connection with the interior department's earlier role with Floyd in the scandal over financing the Utah Expedition.¹⁸

critical review of Pinnegar's book and its substantial misjudgments of Floyd's handling of the Utah War, see *New Mexico Historical Review* 78 (Fall 2003).

¹⁷The literature is summarized in William P. MacKinnon, “125 Years of Conspiracy Theories: Origins of the Utah Expedition of 1857-58,” *Utah Historical Quarterly* 52 (Summer 1984): 212-30. See also Richard D. Poll and MacKinnon, “Causes of the Utah War Reconsidered,” *Journal of Mormon History* 20 (Fall 1994): 28-33; Benjamin F. Gilbert, “The Mythical Johnston Conspiracy,” *California Historical Society Quarterly* 28 (June 1949): 165-73.

¹⁸John Eddins Simpson, *Howell Cobb: The Politics of Ambition* (Chicago: Adams Press, 1973), iii-iv, 107-50; Randy L. Reid, “Howell Cobb of Georgia: A Biography” (Ph.D. diss., Louisiana State University, and Agricultural and Mechanical College, 1995). Jacob Thompson, perhaps the ablest of Buchanan's cabinet, has no full-length biography. “Hon. Jacob Thompson, of Mississippi, Secretary of the Interior,” *United States Democratic Review* 41 (April 1858): 310-16; Dorothy Zollicoffer Oldham, “Life of Jacob Thompson” (M.A. thesis, University of Mississippi, 1930);

After returning to Salt Lake City from the move south on 1 July 1858, Brigham Young, no longer governor and under federal indictment for treason, went into seclusion for several months and perhaps suffered depression. Bodyguards stood vigil outside the Lion House. However, Young's resilience returned, the treason indictment was quashed, and he resumed the active if not formal governance of Utah. Alfred Cumming understood this distinction well, and so did Thomas L. Kane, who before introducing Cumming to Young on 13 April 1858, had commented cynically: "[I have] caught the fish, now you can cook it as [you have] a mind to."¹⁹

After Cumming completed his four-year term, he returned to Washington, D.C. and, early in the Civil War, sought President Abraham Lincoln's sanction to return through Union lines to his native Georgia, where his namesake nephew, a former captain in the Utah Expedition's Tenth Infantry, had become a Confederate brigadier. Lincoln denied his permission, and it was not until the war's end that Cumming, weighing more than four hundred pounds, reached Augusta, Georgia, where he died a widower in 1873 at age seventy-two.²⁰

If Cumming literally sat out the Civil War, so too (figuratively) did Brigham Young, who viewed it as a non-Mormon fight. Utah's support for the Union Army consisted of complying with Lincoln's request for a single mounted company to protect the telegraph line and mail route east of Fort Bridger for ninety days. Neither side extended this service, although this modest contribution has assumed mythic proportions in Utah. From this history of Civil War ambivalence came decades of debate within the LDS Church's hierarchy about the wisdom of supporting the U.S. government's foreign military adventures.²¹

and J. F. H. Claiborne, *Mississippi as a Province, Territory and State, with Biographical Notices of Eminent Citizens* (Jackson, Miss.: Power & Barksdale, 1880), 447-66.

¹⁹Quoted by George A. Smith, *Historian's Office Journal*, 13 April 1858, CR 100/1, Vol. 20, LDS Church Archives.

²⁰Ray R. Canning and Beverly Beeton, eds., "Epilogue," *The Genteel Gentle: Letters of Elizabeth Cumming, 1857-1858* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Library Tanner Trust Series, 1977), 101.

²¹E. B. Long, *The Saints and the Union: Utah Territory during the Civil War* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1981); Margaret M. Fisher, comp.

After Cumming's departure, Utah endured a parade of federally appointed governors of uneven quality and tenure and repeated Congressional attempts to dismember Utah Territory. Young tolerated them without cordiality during the 1860s and 1870s as he dealt with recurrent illness, frequent in-territory travels, a sensational divorce, his arrest for "lascivious cohabitation," the passage of federal anti-polygamy laws, and his indictment for the 1857 murder of Richard E. Yates, a mountaineer and Utah War ammunition trader bludgeoned to death near Echo Canyon by William Adams (Wild Bill) Hickman, a lieutenant in the Nauvoo Legion during the Utah War. Brigham Young died of appendicitis in 1877 at age seventy-six, soon after a firing squad at Mountain Meadows executed his embittered and repudiated adopted son, John D. Lee, a former major in the Nauvoo Legion. Young left a personal estate so entangled with church properties that it took the First Presidency, several apostles, and an accountant two years to work out what they believed to be an equitable settlement. The unintended but scandalous consequences of this arrangement included a brief prison term for three of the apostolic executors for contempt of court and the excommunication of seven Young offspring, who challenged the settlement by "going to law" in Salt Lake City's U.S. district court.²²

Given the fact that, during 1857-58, Brigham Young had pitted himself against two brigades of U.S. Army regulars led by West Pointers, one of his more surprising legacies is sending a son, Willard Young, and a grandson, Richard Whitehead Young, to the U.S. Military Academy. Experiencing first harassment and isolation at West

and ed., *Utah and the Civil War. Being the Story of the Part Played by the People of Utah in That Great Conflict with Special Reference to the Lot Smith Expedition and the Robert T. Burton Expedition* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1929); Ronald W. Walker, "Sheaves, Bucklers and the State: Mormon Leaders Respond to the Dilemmas of War," *Sunstone Review* 7 (July/August 1982): 43-56.

²²Leonard J. Arrington, *Brigham Young: American Moses* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1985), 250-401, esp. 422-30, expanding and updating his "The Settlement of the Brigham Young Estate, 1877-79," *Pacific Historical Review* 21 (February 1952): 1-20.; Newell G. Bringhurst, *Brigham Young and the Expanding American Frontier* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1986), 133-219; Lester E. Bush Jr., "Brigham Young in Life and Death: A Medical Overview," *Journal of Mormon History* 5 (1978): 79-103.



Brigham Young and ten descendants who served in World War I: (1) Colonel Willard Young, son; (2) Brigadier-General Richard W. Young, grandson; (3) Captain Sidney H. Young, grandson; (4) Brigham Young; (5) Sergeant Julian Young Burton, grandson, awarded the Croix de Guerre; (6) Gaylen S. Young, grandson; (7) Sergeant Daniel Young Spencer, grandson; (8) Major Curtis Young Clawson, grandson; (9) Richard W. Burton; (10) Joseph S. Young, grandson, and (11) Lorenzo S. Young, grandson. Susa Young Gates, Brigham Young: Patriot, Pioneer, Prophet ([Salt Lake City: n.pub., [1929]], 6.

Point, then warm acceptance, both men became highly respected general officers in the Utah National Guard and U.S. Army. Through Willard Young's line, four consecutive generations of Brigham Young's direct descendants, three of them West Pointers, served during the Spanish-American War, both World Wars, Korea, and Vietnam.²³

During World War II the U.S. government named Liberty ships after both Brigham Young and James Buchanan. In 1950, in response to Congress's long-standing invitation for each state to send statues of two historical figures for permanent display in the Capitol's National Statuary Hall, Utah sent a figure of Brigham Young and later Philo T. Farnsworth, the inventor of television and namesake of a Utah War religious-military leader. Pennsylvania sent statues of inventor Robert Fulton and John Peter Gabriel Muhlenberg, a Revolutionary War general, but not of Buchanan, the state's only presidential native son.²⁴

Brigham Young is buried in a small park just east of Salt Lake City's Temple Square, today overlooked by an apartment building. In 2001 Utah and the LDS Church celebrated the bicentennial of Young's birth with extensive reprises of his considerable accomplishments but muted mention of his forced removal as governor and related role in the Utah War, including federal indictments for treason and murder.²⁵

²³Sidney Hooper Young Jr., San Francisco, grandson of Willard Young and an alumnus of West Point Class of 1942, correspondence with MacKinnon, 1998-2002. For an early account and photograph of Brigham Young descendants in uniform, see Susa Young Gates, "Brigham Young: Patriot, Pioneer, Prophet," KSL radio address, 1 June 1929, 5-6. See also Leonard J. Arrington, "Willard Young: The Prophet's Son at West Point," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 4 (Winter 1969): 37-46.

²⁴*Acceptance of the Statue of Brigham Young Presented in the Rotunda, United States Capitol, by the State of Utah* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1950), 1-72. Utah's U.S. Senator Elbert D. Thomas told his constituents that the presentation ceremony "drew the largest crowd of any such dedication ever held in the Capitol." Thomas, Letter to "Dear Friend," 25 October 1950, photocopy in my possession.

²⁵Peggy Fletcher Stack and Bob Mims, "Brigham Young: 200 Years Later," *Salt Lake Tribune*, 1 June 2001. The bicentennial of James Buchanan's birth on 23 April 1791 was marked by a conference that I

Yet no federal politician involved with the Utah War was as reviled in Utah as Senator Stephen A. Douglas of Illinois because of his well-known, anti-Mormon speech in Springfield on 12 June 1857. Still outraged almost four years later on 2 May 1861, when Douglas was terminally ill, Young wrote him a caustic, mocking letter, reminding him of his 1857 Springfield speech and his role in the Union's violent disruption. Recalling Douglas's unsuccessful 1860 presidential bid and Joseph Smith's apocalyptic 1843 prophecy that Douglas's political ambitions would fail if he turned against the Mormons, Young closed: "Do you not begin to realize that the prediction of the Prophet Joseph Smith, personally delivered to you, has been and is being literally fulfilled upon your head? Why have you barked with the dogs, except to prove that you were a dog with them?" Douglas died in Chicago before receiving this bitter letter.²⁶

Conversely, Sam Houston, Senator from Texas, defended the Mormon cause in 1857-58, especially by opposing reinforcements for the Utah Expedition on 25 February 1858 in a speech from the floor. This defense earned him Brigham Young's enduring gratitude. After the Utah War when Houston became Texas's governor, Young arranged Mormon editorial support for Houston's strong but ultimately unsuccessful presidential aspirations. Texas deposed Houston as its governor in March 1861 for his refusal to swear allegiance to the Confederacy. In 1863 he died, critical to the end of his old enemy Albert Sidney Johnston.²⁷

The Soldiers: Utah Expedition

The U.S. Army's senior leader during the Utah War was Brevet Lieutenant General Winfield Scott, the aging, vain, and corpulent general in chief. At the outbreak of the Civil War, Scott

organized in Lancaster and Carlisle, Pennsylvania, 20-21 September 1991.

²⁶William P. MacKinnon, "Like Splitting a Man Up His Backbone": The Territorial Dismemberment of Utah, 1850-1896," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 71 (Spring 2003): 108, 114.

²⁷Michael Scott Van Wagenen, *The Texas Republic and the Mormon Kingdom of God* (College Station, Tex.: Texas A&M University Press, 2002), 66-69. For the decision to support Houston, see 4 October 1859, Historian's Office Journal, LDS Archives; and editorial, "The Next President" (Salt Lake City) *Mountaineer*, 8 October 1859, 2. Houston was preparing to run for the 1860 election.

moved from his self-imposed exile in New York to Washington, D.C., at Lincoln's request. In 1861, after devising a campaign strategy not unlike his 1857 plan to assault Utah from two directions, he retired bitterly to make way for Major General George B. McClellan, who in 1858 had unsuccessfully attempted to reenter the army from civilian life for the Utah campaign. Scott's 1864 two-volume memoirs contained a single five-sentence paragraph on the still controversial Utah War. Two years later at age seventy-nine, he died at West Point.²⁸

Brevet Brigadier General William S. Harney, the Utah Expedition's first commander, had a reputation for such severity that the news of his appointment had the unintended consequence of stiffening Mormon resistance. Harney never made it to Utah, since Robert J. Walker, governor of Kansas Territory, insisted on his retention in Kansas to quell civil disorders there over the slavery issue. During the late summer of 1858, with Kansas temporarily pacified and the Utah conflict mostly resolved, Harney was ordered to command the Department of Oregon. With stunning ineptness, he singlehandedly brought the United States to the brink of armed conflict with Great Britain as a result of his unauthorized, heavy-handed occupation of Puget Sound's San Juan Island during a sensitive border dispute. This "Pig War" of 1859 resulted in Harney's punitive reassignment to command the Department of the West in St. Louis.

In the opening months of the Civil War, the War Department relieved Harney of command again because of political concerns in the Lincoln administration about his mishandling of the hyper-sensitive scene in contested Missouri. He spent the balance of the war in St. Louis awaiting a reassignment that never materialized. Midway through the war, the army retired Harney and then breveted him a major general for long and faithful service. In 1868

²⁸Winfield Scott, *Memoirs of Lieut.-General Scott, L.L.D., Written by Himself*, 2 vols. (New York: Sheldon & Co., 1864), 2:604. Scott's retirement was prompted by annoyance at McClellan's by-passing him in communications. Similarly, during the Utah War, he had chafed because General William S. Harney, the Utah Expedition's first commander, persisted in dealing directly with Floyd and Buchanan. In his extraordinarily brief comments on the Utah War, Scott focused on Floyd's hapless financial dealings with what he termed "desperate characters."

the army brought him back briefly to negotiate with the Great Plains tribes. One of them, a Sioux band, so feared him that, during the mid-1850s, they had dubbed him "Mad Bear," even without knowing that an exasperated army had already court-martialed Harney four times for various attitudinal infractions while a civil court had tried him a fifth time, but acquitted him, for bludgeoning a female slave to death. After disinheriting all of his children, Harney moved from St. Louis to Florida and died there in 1889 at age eighty-eight.²⁹

Harney's successor as field commander of the Utah Expedition in September 1857 had a far more stellar destiny. Colonel (later Brevet Brigadier General) Albert Sidney Johnston was, at the time of his appointment, commander of the Second Regiment of Cavalry and before that secretary of war for the Republic of Texas. With the Utah Expedition garrisoned at Camp Floyd, Mormon leaders were scrupulous about not vilifying Johnston personally in public. Nonetheless, by 1859 Johnston found himself in the middle of corrosive jurisdictional disputes that left him increasingly marginalized in a role that was not only deadly dull but politically ambiguous. His troops sarcastically dubbed the maddening sandstorms at arid Camp Floyd "Johnsoons."

After repeatedly denying his requests for furlough or reassignment, the War Department relented. On 1 March 1860 he left Camp Floyd, headed for San Bernardino and ultimately a steamer home. It was a journey that produced one of the eeriest scenes of the Utah War. As Johnston and his sixty-man escort rode across the rim of the Great Basin near the killing field of Mountain Meadows, his adjutant, Major Fitz John Porter, realized that they were being shadowed by a lone, heavily bearded horseman, with a dog slung across his saddle in signature fashion. This outrider was Orrin Porter Rockwell, Brigham Young's bodyguard, whose solitary, distant vigil more than three hundred miles from the Salt Lake Valley sent an unmistakable message to the departing general about the real power in Utah Territory. As Major Porter described the scene, "It was a warning. We

²⁹George Rollie Adams, *General William S. Harney: Prince of Dragons* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2001); William P. MacKinnon, "Review Essay," *New Mexico Historical Review* 76 (October 2001): 431-37.

were at once on our guard and our party, somewhat separated . . . was halted and united.”³⁰

After Johnston took a furlough in Kentucky, the War Department sent him back to San Francisco to command the Department of the Pacific. Speculation persisted that he would succeed Scott, and perhaps Buchanan. With the secession crisis, though, Johnston resigned his commission, offered his services to the Confederacy, and became its leading general in Kentucky, Tennessee, and Mississippi. The fifty-nine-year-old Johnston rode Border Ruffian, his mount throughout the Utah War, into the battle of Shiloh on 6 April 1862, received a leg wound, which he ignored, and bled to death.³¹ In 1867, Texas veterans organized a solemn procession bringing Johnston’s body from a holding crypt in New Orleans to a prominent grave near Austin. Some historians view this symbolic cross-country funeral cortege, resembling Lincoln’s two years earlier, as an early move by former Confederate leaders to create what became the mythology of the “lost cause.”³²

Today the effectiveness of Johnston’s Civil War generalship remains the subject of much debate.³³ Shortly before Sam Houston’s

³⁰Fitz John Porter, “A Characteristic (Mormon) Conspiracy. (From Incidents of the Utah Expedition of 1859 to 1860, under Genl. A. S. Johnston),” holograph, 9-11, Box 53 (microfilm 25), Fitz John Porter Papers, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C. Upon sensing danger, Rockwell’s dog was trained to rise up and silently lick his master’s face.

³¹Stanley Zamonski, “Border Ruffian and the Gold Nugget Race,” *Wild West* 12 (April 2000): 28-34. According to Zamonski, the horse was known as Fire-Eater during the Civil War, obscuring its Utah War connection.

³²Jerry Thompson, “When Albert Sidney Johnston Came Home to Texas: Reconstruction Politics and the Reburial of a Hero,” *Southwestern Historical Quarterly* 103 (April 2000): 453-78.

³³Positive assessments appear in William Preston Johnston, *The Life of Gen. Albert Sidney Johnston, Embracing His Services in the Armies of the United States, the Republic of Texas, and the Confederate States* (1878; reprinted Austin, Tex.: State House Press, 1997); Charles P. Roland, *Albert Sidney Johnston: Soldier of Three Republics* (1964; rev. ed., Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 2001); Charles P. Roland, *Jefferson Davis’s Greatest General: Albert Sidney Johnston* (College Station: Texas A&M Press Consortium, 2000).

death in 1863, he made no bones of his negative opinion about Johnston:

You know that I told you when Johnston was assigned the command of Kentucky and Tennessee that both states would be lost to the confederacy. Johnston was a good man and a gentleman, but [had] not one particle of military capacity, and for statesmanship he did not comprehend it. . . . I do not reflect upon poor Johnston. I only reflect upon the man [Jefferson Davis] who showed a want of judgment in ever placing him in a situation he was not fit for. The poor fellow gave up his life. It was all he could do. He was a man of physical courage but without moral courage.³⁴

In 1889 Brigadier General Philip St. George Cooke, former commander of both the Mexican War's Mormon Battalion and Johnston's Utah War dragoons, wrote from his Detroit retirement home to General William Tecumseh Sherman:

Johnston was always singularly over-rated; his commanding and dignified bearing was a great card. In a youthful book, you might have read: "whose looks alone could make a friend." His gallant death set a bright seal to his career! I was long an intimate friend, until a connexion with one F[it]z J[ohn] P[orter] befell him. Then I first discovered his weakness in not marching on to Salt Lake City that fall. I urged it on my arrival [at Camp Scott] and offered to go with a regiment alone.³⁵

More critical is Larry J. Daniel, *Shiloh: The Battle That Decided the Civil War* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1997).

³⁴Sam Houston, Letter to Eber Worthing Cave, 3 February 1863, in Madge Thornall Roberts, ed., *The Personal Correspondence of Sam Houston*, 4 vols. (Denton: University of North Texas Press, 2001), 4 (1852-1863): 418-19.

³⁵Philip St. George Cooke, Letter to William T. Sherman, 7 May 1889, Philip St. George Cooke Papers, 1837-1942, Library of Virginia, Richmond. Thus, even thirty-two years later, Cooke resented Johnston's rustication of his exhausted regiment to six months of herding duty at isolated Henry's Fork and away from the camaraderie at Camp Scott/Fort Bridger. Cooke unsuccessfully appealed this assignment to General Scott in New York. These acrimonious 1889 comments about Johnston and Porter were probably colored by his awareness that Johnston had served the Confederacy while Porter had been cashiered.

Sherman, who like McClellan had tried unsuccessfully to reenter the army in 1858 for the Utah campaign, agreed with Cooke but in more cautious terms: "Your means of knowing Sidney Johnston . . . are far better than mine. I never rated the abilities of Johnston as high as did Jeff Davis."³⁶ Cooke's son, John Rogers Cooke, a Confederate major general, disagreed: "At no time had the United States Army ever been in better condition and discipline than the command of General Albert Sidney Johnston in Utah, in 1858."³⁷

More than thirty-five of the officers, enlisted men, and even civilians who served under Johnston during the Utah War became Union or Confederate generals. Several among Johnston's expedition won the Medal of Honor during the Civil War or Indian campaigns that followed. In a sense, the Utah War was a proving ground for military talent, especially in planning, logistics, personal leadership, and all-weather campaigning. Eighty years later, the Spanish Civil War served much the same preparatory function for the Axis powers in World War II.

One indicator of how much the Utah Expedition contributed to the Civil War's talent is the roster of senior officers at the battle of Gettysburg in 1863. Confederate Brigadier Henry Heth, a former captain in the Utah Expedition's Tenth U.S. Infantry, inadvertently touched off the battle while foraging for Pennsylvania shoes. Another Confederate comrade in that engagement was General J. E. B. Stuart, a first lieutenant in the First U.S. Cavalry during the Utah War. The Union generals included John F. Reynolds (Buchanan's fellow-townsmen), Elon John Farnsworth (of whom more below), and John Cleveland Robinson (the former Fifth Infantry captain in whose tent Thomas L. Kane sought refuge when he arrived, exhausted, at Camp Scott in March 1858).³⁸ Reynolds and

³⁶William T. Sherman, Letter to Philip St. George Cooke, 9 May 1889, Cooke Papers.

³⁷J. R. Cooke quoted by Henry Heth in R. A. Brock, "General John Rogers Cooke," *Southern Historical Society Papers* 18 (1890-91): 326. Heth, a Utah War veteran, was reputedly the only officer Robert E. Lee called by his first name.

³⁸Thomas L. Kane, Letter to President James Buchanan, draft letter, 15 March 1858, Thomas L. Kane Collection, L. Tom Perry Special Collections, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University, Provo; hereafter cited as Perry Special Collections. Robinson later wrote "The Utah



Sergeant-Major Martin Mullins (1830-1901), Fifth U.S. Infantry. Photo courtesy Dr. William J. Schultz, Sugarcreek, Ohio.

Farnsworth died at Gettysburg. Robinson survived, later lost a leg, won the Medal of Honor, and went on to command the Grand Army of the Republic and to serve as New York's lieutenant governor. Generals Stephen H. Weed, who died while defending Little Round Top, and John Gibbon, who went on to command the Army of the Potomac's Iron Division, had been first lieutenants in John W. Phelps's old Utah battery in the Fourth Artillery. Generals John Buford and Alfred Pleasonton were both former Harney favorites in the Second U.S. Dragoons. Brigadier John Newton, Johnston's former chief of engineers, became the U.S. Army's Chief Engineer and then president of the Panama Railway Company. Confederate Brigadier Lewis A. Armistead had been an officer in the Utah Expedition's Sixth U.S. Infantry with Winfield Scott Hancock, now a Union major general. Hancock was a sub-

Expedition," *Magazine of American History* 11 (January-June 1884): 335-41, which criticized the Mormons and repeated virtually all of the conspiracy theories associated with the Utah War's origins.

sequent but unsuccessful candidate for U.S. president in 1880. Also a candidate in that same presidential campaign was Brigadier General John W. Phelps, Johnston's former artillery commander in Utah. Even peacemaker Thomas L. Kane fought at Gettysburg as a federal brigadier.³⁹

Nor was this all. Deeper in the Union Army's leadership cadre at Gettysburg appears First Lieutenant James ("Jock") Stewart, Scottish-born commander of the battle's most decimated unit, Light Battery B of the Fourth U.S. Artillery, the unit in which Stewart served as Phelps's first sergeant throughout the Utah War. Like Johnston, Stewart rode his Utah mount in the Civil War; the twice-wounded Tartar had been nursed through the winter of 1857-58 near Fort Bridger by Washakie's Shoshones.⁴⁰ Another first lieutenant, John Green, who had also been a first sergeant in the Utah Expedition (Second U.S. Dragoons), performed valiantly, was breveted, and eventually won the Medal of Honor in California's 1873 Modoc War before retiring in 1889 as a brevet brigadier general.⁴¹

Not all Utah Expedition veterans performed heroically or flawlessly during the Civil War or afterward. In many of these cases, alcoholism seems to have been a common factor. Fitz John Porter, Johnston's adjutant, was court-martialed and cashiered as a Union major general in 1863 following his controversial performance at Second Bull Run. Porter thereafter worked as a municipal official in New York while lobbying persistently for vindication. Finally in 1886 the army overturned Porter's conviction and restored him to the Fifth U.S. Infantry as its colonel. Porter immediately retired and died in 1901.⁴²

³⁹Most Gettysburg studies provide information about the earlier service of these generals as company grade officers in Utah.

⁴⁰Augustus Buell, *"The Cannoneer": Recollections of Service in the Army of the Potomac* (Washington, D.C.: National Tribune, 1890), 389-98; James Stewart, "Battery B Fourth United States Artillery at Gettysburg," *Sketches of War History* (Columbus, Ohio: Military Order of the Loyal Legion of the United States) 4 (1893): 180-93; Harold Schindler, "Tartar the War Horse," *Salt Lake Tribune*, 4 September 1994.

⁴¹Francis B. Heitman, *Historical Register and Dictionary of the United States Army from Its Organization, September 29, 1789, to March 2, 1903*, 2 vols. (1903; reprinted, Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1965) 1:473.

⁴²Otto Eisenschiml, *The Celebrated Case of Fitz John Porter: An American*

Less positive were the career outcomes of two brothers, senior non-commissioned, Irish-born Utah War veterans in Porter's regiment. In August 1860 at the end of a long march from Camp Floyd to Santa Fe, First Sergeant Francis (Frank) Mullins shot and killed his estranged fiancée, Ellen Foy, before committing suicide.⁴³ Martin Mullins, Frank's brother and the Fifth Infantry's long-time sergeant-major, soldiered on, obtained a commission in the regiment in 1861, rose to captain before being cashiered in 1869 for public drunkenness and lewd behavior, and finished his life as a clerk and realtor in Kansas and Arkansas.⁴⁴

Even more bizarre was the case of Laurence A. Williams, a first lieutenant in the Tenth Infantry, whom Johnston selected in 1858 as his aide de camp. By 1863, Williams was a major in the Sixth U.S. Cavalry. At that point, he unwisely attempted to pay a social call in Virginia on his cousin, the wife of Robert E. Lee, and was summarily dismissed. A persistent campaign for vindication finally succeeded shortly before Williams's death in 1879.⁴⁵ Finally, on a grander scale was the case of an entire regiment—the Seventh U.S. Infantry. This unit followed up its service in the Utah War by a performance so abysmal against Confederate forces in New Mexico during 1861 that

Dreyfus Affair (Indianapolis, Ind.: Bobbs-Merrill, 1950); Henry Gabler, "The Fitz John Porter Case: Politics and Military Justice" (Ph.D. diss., City University of New York, 1979).

⁴³Dale F. Giese, ed., *My Life with the Army in the West: The Memoirs of James E. Farmer, 1858-1898* (Santa Fe, N.M.: Stagecoach Press, 1967), 29-30. Army records in the National Archives record Mullins's death on 12 August 1860 but do not list a cause.

⁴⁴Martin Mullins, pension file, Old Military and Civil Records, Textual Archives Services Division, National Archives, Washington, D.C.

⁴⁵Laurence A. Williams has no biographer, and his role as Johnston's aide has never been explored in connection with the Utah War. See Williams Papers, Tudor Place Foundation, Washington, D.C. Adding new dimensions of complexity was the fact that both his brother (William Orton Williams) and his cousin (Walter Gibson Peters), Confederate officers, were executed as spies within the Union lines near Franklin, Tennessee, in 1863. Inexplicably, Orton was using Laurence's name. For this incident and the closeness of the Williams and Lee families, see Robert E. L. deButts Jr., ed., "Mary Custis Lee's 'Reminiscences of the War,'" *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* 109, No. 3 (2001): 301-25.

the Union Army forced its acting commander, Major Isaac Lynde, out of the service and refused to replace its destroyed regimental colors until the unit redeemed itself under fire at Fredericksburg, Virginia, in 1862.⁴⁶

Perhaps the saddest of such failures was that of Brevet Major Henry Hopkins Sibley of the Second U.S. Dragoons, a long-time alcoholic. His erratic behavior resulted in a court-martial during the Utah War, followed by being relieved of command and disgrace as a Confederate general after battlefield debacles, first in New Mexico in 1862 and then in Louisiana in 1863. After undistinguished, alcohol-fueled service (1868-73) as a military advisor to the Khedive of Egypt, who dismissed him, Sibley died in Virginia in 1886. As fate would have it, Sibley's Confederate service deprived him of the substantial royalties that he otherwise would have received for inventing the tepee-like Sibley tent, field-tested by troops of the Utah Expedition and used extensively thereafter by the Union Army.⁴⁷

Among the most spectacular of the post-war imbroglios involving Utah War veterans was Lieutenant Colonel and Brevet Brigadier General N. A. M. Dudley's inept 1878 military intervention in New Mexico's Lincoln County War, a multi-year civil conflict that resulted in both Billy the Kid's reputation as a killer and New Mexico governor Lew Wallace's contribution to American literature, *Ben-Hur: A Tale of the Christ* (1880). Wallace, a former Union major general, whiled away hot New Mexico evenings awaiting the surrender of the Kid by writing his novel. As a first lieutenant in the Tenth U.S. Infantry during the Utah War, Dudley's pomposity prompted exasperated fellow officers to give him a buffoon's nickname, "The Great American Dudley." In Lincoln County the pigeons of Dudley's long history of misjudgments came home to roost.⁴⁸

⁴⁶Thomas P. Lowry, "Boys in the Bag," *Civil War Times*, August 1997, 50-53. Lynde's dismissal was also overturned after the war; he was reinstated in 1866. A. F. H. Armstrong, "The Case of Major Isaac Lynde," *New Mexico Historical Review* 36 (January 1961): 1-35.

⁴⁷Jerry Thompson, *Henry Hopkins Sibley: Confederate General of the West* (Natchitoches, La.: Northwestern State University Press, 1987).

⁴⁸Gary L. Roberts, "Lincoln County War," in *The New Encyclopedia of the American West*, 642.

The Soldiers: Nauvoo Legion

Mormon military talent was every bit as colorful, but less well known than the federals because of the Nauvoo Legion's absence from the Civil War. For Mormon readers, even though many of the legion's veterans are quite well known, a reminder about a few of the more significant or off-beat post-1858 careers would be useful.

Although Governor Brigham Young was ultimately responsible for Utah's territorial militia, its military leader was Lieutenant General Daniel H. Wells, long-time superintendent of public works for Salt Lake City, mayor of the city (1866-76), and, since January 1857, second counselor in the First Presidency. Uniformed as resplendently as Winfield Scott, Wells commanded the legion's largely non-uniformed eastern expedition during the fall of 1857 from a smoky cave in Echo Canyon. A federal grand jury indicted Wells along with Young for treason during the war. In 1870, Utah's governor removed Wells from his legion command, and seventeen years later Congress abolished the Nauvoo Legion itself through the notorious Edmunds-Tucker Act. In 1884, Wells wrote his still-unpublished military memoirs for H. H. Bancroft, never mentioning the Utah War, a not unusual omission by senior Mormon leaders in legal jeopardy but a vexing gap for historians.⁴⁹ In 1891 at age seventy-seven, Daniel H. Wells died in Salt Lake City. His son, Heber Manning Wells, would serve five years later as Utah's first state governor.

Actively aiding Wells during the legion's crucial fall 1857 campaign was an extraordinary apostolic delegation that included Heber C. Kimball, John Taylor, Wilford Woodruff, and George A. Smith. Only Smith had a formal military rank (colonel), although John Taylor still carried in his body the symbolic authority commanded by five Illinois militia bullets received during his attempt to shield Joseph Smith at Carthage Jail in 1844. After Brigham Young's death in 1877, Taylor and Woodruff served sequentially as Brigham Young's presidential successors, while Kimball and George A. Smith provided long service as counselors in the First Presidency. During

⁴⁹Wells's "Narrative of Daniel H. Wells," Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley. His most extensive published comment about the Utah War was a brief interview with George A. Townsend in connection with his indictment along with Brigham Young and Bill Hickman for the Yates murder. *The Mormon Trials at Salt Lake City* (New York: American News Co., 1871), 25-26.

the Utah War, Lorenzo Snow, the Church's fifth president, served as brigadier general, while Joseph F. Smith, the sixth president, was a private. As President Smith later told it, he reached Salt Lake City at age nineteen after serving a two-year Hawaiian mission in February 1858, stopped to mold a few bullets from lead mined at the Church's Las Vegas diggings, and galloped off to serve as a cavalryman in Echo Canyon.⁵⁰

Among the legion's other brigadiers during the Utah War, Charles C. Rich, co-founder of San Bernardino, went on to settle Idaho's Bear Lake area. The town of St. Charles was named for him, as St. George, Utah, was named for George A. Smith.⁵¹ Brigadier General Hiram B. Clawson, as a civilian, married two of Brigham Young's daughters, served as Young's principal business manager, and managed ZCMI. He also became a pillar of the Salt Lake Theater.⁵² Brigadier Aaron Johnson spent the winter of 1858-59 bivouacked in the mountains to avoid Judge John Cradlebaugh's investigation of the March 1857 Potter-Parrish murders, following which he resumed his principal responsibilities as Springville's long-time bishop and as commander of the legion's Peteetneet Military District. He died in 1877.⁵³ Adjutant General

⁵⁰Joseph F. Smith, "Reminiscences of the First Presidency," *Deseret News*, 21 December 1901; Joseph Fielding Smith, comp., *Life of Joseph F. Smith, Sixth President of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints* (Salt Lake City: Deseret News Co., 1938), 194-96. His return to Salt Lake City coincided with Thomas L. Kane's arrival.

⁵¹For a meager account of Rich's Utah War involvement, see Leonard J. Arrington, *Charles C. Rich: Mormon General and Western Frontiersman* (Provo, Utah: BYU Press, 1974), 215-23. Rich's extant personal papers contain almost no mention of the Utah War.

⁵²For information on Clawson, including his key role in 1861 as Brigham Young's agent in purchasing much of Camp Floyd's goods for a pittance, see S. George Ellsworth, *Dear Ellen: Two Mormon Women and Their Letters* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Library Tanner Trust Series, 1974), 14, 50-51, 72-5; Orson F. Whitney, *History of Utah*, 4 vols. (Salt Lake City: George Q. Cannon, 1892-1904) 4:201-3; and "Hiram B. Clawson," *Tullidge's Quarterly Magazine* 1 (July 1881): 678-84.

⁵³Lyndon W. Cook, ed., *Aaron Johnson Correspondence* (Orem, Utah: Center for Research of Mormon Origins, 1990); Alan P. Johnson, *Aaron Johnson: Faithful Steward* (Salt Lake City: Publishers Press, 1991).

James Ferguson, a man of enormous talents and personal appeal, had been sergeant-major of the Mormon Battalion during the Mexican War and participated in some of Utah's most bruising legal disputes in the late 1850s. In 1859 he cofounded a newspaper, *The Mountaineer*, in Salt Lake City with two other lawyers. Both partners were also veterans of the Nauvoo Legion—Hosea Stout had been the legion's judge advocate, and Seth M. Blair had been a major. Their newspaper was meant to counteract the 1858 appearance of the anti-LDS *Valley Tan*. Both newspapers folded in 1860. Ferguson died of alcoholism in 1863 at age thirty-five.⁵⁴

Perhaps best-known and most colorful of the legion's Utah War veterans were four men of relatively modest military and church rank who were among the West's most accomplished horsemen: Major Lot Smith, Captain Orrin Porter Rockwell,⁵⁵ Lieutenant William ("Wild Bill") Adams Hickman,⁵⁶ and Colonel Robert Taylor Burton⁵⁷—all of whom were dogged throughout their subsequent lives by violence and controversy.

⁵⁴Will Bagley, ed., *"A Bright, Rising Star": A Brief Life of James Ferguson, Sergeant Major, Mormon Battalion; Adjutant General, Nauvoo Legion* (Salt Lake City: Prairie Dog Press, 2000).

⁵⁵Harold Schindler, *Orrin Porter Rockwell: Man of God, Son of Thunder*, rev. ed. (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1983). Rockwell's controversial legacy reemerged in an acrimonious 1999 debate over whether to name a segment of a Salt Lake City expressway for him and in the commentary on two large Rockwell statues erected at Point of the Mountain and Lehi, Utah, in 2000. Glenn D. Hubbard, "Murderer Honored" (letter to the editor), *Salt Lake Tribune*, 14 June 1999; Carrie A. Moore, "Rockwell: A Legend in Bronze," *Salt Lake City Desert News*, 20 January 2000; Tony Yapias, "Statue Honors Pioneer Figure Rockwell," *Salt Lake Tribune*, 11 September 2000. In 1878 Rockwell died of alcoholism in Salt Lake's Colorado Stables while awaiting trial for a Utah War-related murder.

⁵⁶Almost as controversial as Rockwell but not as popular, Hickman has few defenders other than his descendants. Increasingly estranged from Brigham Young and badly wounded in a failed 1859 assassination attempt, Hickman was excommunicated in 1868 and abandoned by nine of his ten wives. He moved near the current site of Lander, Wyoming, where he died in an isolated dugout in 1883. Hope A. Hilton, *"Wild Bill" Hickman and the Mormon Frontier* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1988).

The most famous of these officers then and now was Lot Smith, a veteran of the Mormon Battalion, from whom came the Utah War's most famous utterance. On 4-5 October 1857 when Smith attacked the Russell, Majors, and Waddell supply train near Green River, wagon master John M. Dawson exclaimed "For God's sake, don't burn the trains." Smith replied, "It was for His sake that I was going to burn them."⁵⁸ With the ironic rank of captain in the Union Army, Smith commanded the company constituting Utah Territory's contribution to the Civil War. Even after this service, one Fort Douglas merchant reported to his superior at Fort Bridger in November 1865 that Smith "is not in the habit of visiting any Government office when he can avoid it."⁵⁹ In 1892, living in self-imposed exile in the isolated slickrock canyons of northern Arizona and somewhat estranged from Mormonism, Smith died of gunshot wounds sustained in a grazing dispute with a Navajo shepherd. In 1902 Smith's body

⁵⁷Burton was one of the first Nauvoo Legion commanders to take the field in early August 1857. During the Civil War, he commanded a nonfederalized cavalry company paralleling Lot Smith's, assigned to guard the telegraph line for three months. Tried and acquitted for killing religious dissidents in the Morrisite War (1862), Burton was well respected in territorial Utah and became a Nauvoo Legion major general. He headed the statehood parade in 1896 as its grand marshal. Janet Burton Seegmiller, *"Be Kind to the Poor": The Life Story of Robert Taylor Burton* (N.p.: Burton Family Organization, 1988).

⁵⁸Lot Smith, "The Echo Canyon War: Narrative of Lot Smith," *The Contributor*, reprinted with quotations appearing in Hafen and Hafen, eds., *The Utah Expedition, 1857-1858*, 222. His statement, dictated to and edited by Junius F. Wells twenty-five years after the event, does not appear in any of the contemporary accounts on either side. A controversial point is whether Smith destroyed the trains on his own initiative or received orders to do so, an issue on which treason indictments would hinge. On 4 October 1859 George A. Smith, Historian's Office Journal, LDS Archives, recorded Brigham Young's remark "that his natural feelings were not to destroy property, and he thought that if he had been in the mountains, he would not have given his consent to the burning of the Government Wagons, but still he believed that it was the best thing that could have been done."

⁵⁹Samuel Dean, Letter to William A. Carter, 16 November 1865, Judge William A. Carter Papers, Herbert S. Auerbach Collection, Firestone Library, Princeton University.

was exhumed and reburied at Farmington, Utah, his former home, in ceremonies attended by virtually the entire senior leadership of the LDS Church but not mentioned by Salt Lake's two non-Mormon newspapers, the *Tribune* and *Herald*. For years thereafter Lot Smith's comrades-in-arms met for annual reunions at his grave, although some were denied membership in Salt Lake's small GAR post until 1911 because of their Utah War service. Today uniformed reenactments of these gatherings continue periodically in Farmington as a gesture of respect for Lot Smith and pride in Mormon military service.⁶⁰

The most bizarre Nauvoo Legionnaire story involves three generals of the same surname, all commissioned by Joseph Smith Jr. for reasons of substance or to curry favor with eastern opinion leaders. Two—James Arlington Bennett of Brooklyn, a writer of popular school texts, a physician, and perhaps a lawyer, and John Cook Bennett, former assistant president of the LDS Church, virtual founder of the Nauvoo Legion (1841), and a spectacular apostate after the spring of 1842—offered to serve the federal government against the Mormons during 1857-58. The third, James Gordon Bennett of Manhattan, was a non-Mormon, commissioned for public relations purposes in April 1842 at the same time he was granted an honorary degree. He wrote anti-Mormon newspaper editorials during the war for his *New York Herald*, which had four correspondents traveling with the Utah Expedition. James Arlington Bennett became a Brooklyn cemetery developer, John Cook Bennett became an Iowa horticulturist and poultry breeder, and James Gordon Bennett became a Manhattan press baron.⁶¹

⁶⁰Charles S. Peterson, "A Portrait of Lot Smith, Mormon Frontiersman," *Western Historical Quarterly* 1 (October 1970): 393-414. See also "After Lapse of Ten Years, Remains of Captain Smith Interred at Farmington. A Most Notable Occasion," *Deseret News*, 9 April 1902, 5.

⁶¹Major General J. Arlington Bennett, Letter to President James Buchanan, 8 April 1858, James Buchanan Papers, Historical Society of Pennsylvania, made grandiose suggestions to Buchanan about how to use him and his Nauvoo Legion connection. In James Arlington Bennett, Letter to Governor Brigham Young, 20 November 1858, Brigham Young Collection, LDS Archives, Bennett reversed course and claimed to have been a moderating force with the Buchanan administration. John Cook Bennett, Letter to Stephen A. Douglas, 20 January 1858, Stephen A.

Other Colorful Veterans on Both Sides

Among other federal troops and legionnaires with colorful post-1858 lives largely unconnected to the Utah War were twenty whose stories warrant at least mention, pending greater attention in a subsequent study. Private William Gentles of the Tenth U.S. Infantry, a veteran of Captain Randolph B. Marcy's 1857 march to New Mexico, despite his name, mortally bayoneted Chief Crazy Horse at the Fort Robinson guardhouse in 1877 and was bundled off to Fort Douglas, Utah, where he died a year later of asthma.⁶²

Sergeant Ralph Pike, Gentles's much-admired comrade in both the Tenth and the Marcy trek, was fatally shot in 1859 by Howard Spencer, a Mormon, in Salt Lake City, an incident that produced one of Utah's longest-running criminal investigations and trials.⁶³ Robert Foote, a private in the Second Dragoons, became a merchant

Douglas Papers, Special Collections, University of Chicago Library, urged Douglas to persuade Buchanan to appoint him commander of a volunteer regiment: "That the conflict with Utah will be most sanguinary, there is little doubt. I desire to be in the most bloody and terrible battle." James Gordon Bennett did not take seriously his commission as a brigadier and inspector general in the Nauvoo Legion, ignoring Joseph Smith's August 1842 order that he travel to Nauvoo with James Arlington Bennett to help with the Nauvoo Legion's command crisis following the excommunication of John Cook Bennett. A summary of the military roles of all three Bennetts appears in Andrew F. Smith, *The Sainly Scoundrel: The Life and Times of Dr. John Cook Bennett* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1997), 65, 68-72, 108-9, 115, 126.

⁶²"People of Ft. Douglas," downloaded 29 June 2003 from <http://www.fortdouglas.org/fdpeopleGentile.htm>; Richard G. Hardoff, comp., *The Death of Crazy Horse: A Tragic Episode in Lakota History* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2001); Jerome A. Greene, ed. and comp., *Lakota and Cheyenne: Indian Views of the Great Sioux War, 1876-1877* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1994), 150-52.

⁶³Harold Schindler, "Is That You, Pike? Feud Between Settlers, Frontier Army Erupts and Simmers for Three Decades," *Salt Lake Tribune*, 2 July 1995, J-1; Lance D. Chase, "The Spencer-Pike Affair, 1859-90: Method in Madness," in his *Temple, Town, Tradition: The Collected Historical Essays of Lance D. Chase* (Laie, Hawaii: Institute for Polynesian Studies, 2000), 39-56. For the Marcy expedition, see Special Orders No. 50, 24 November 1857, Headquarters, Army of Utah, Camp Scott, National Archives.

in Wyoming and a prominent civilian player in its 1892 Johnson County War.⁶⁴ Myles Moylan, a corporal in the same regiment, was commissioned during the Civil War, cashiered, reenlisted as a private in a different regiment under an alias, was commissioned again, transferred to the Seventh U.S. Cavalry, and retired as a major in 1893 after surviving the Battle of the Little Bighorn in 1876 and winning the Medal of Honor in the 1877 campaign against the Nez Perce.⁶⁵

Private John Sobieski of the Tenth Infantry, an immigrant claiming descent from a seventeenth-century Polish king whose name he shared, served throughout the Civil War and became a colonel in the Mexican Army.⁶⁶ Lieutenant Colonel Barnard E. Bee, the volunteer battalion's commander, gave Thomas J. Jackson his nickname "Stonewall" and died heroically as a Confederate brigadier at First Bull Run.⁶⁷ Bee's volunteer battalion subordinate, Private Ben Clark, learned Cheyenne and served as chief scout and interpreter for Generals George Armstrong Custer, Philip H. Sheridan, William Tecumseh Sherman, and Nelson A. Miles during the plains campaigns.⁶⁸

⁶⁴Murray L. Carroll, "Robert Foote: A Forgotten Wyoming Pioneer," *Annals of Wyoming* 74 (Winter 2002): 9-23; Mrs. Charles Ellis, "Robert Foote," *Annals of Wyoming* 15: 1: 50-62.

⁶⁵Curtis R. Allen, "Myles Moylan," Moylan Family Website (<http://www.freespace.com/moylan/MylesMoylan.html>); and Francis B. Heitman, *Historical Register*, 1:733. Allen, a Bountiful, Utah, resident, has done extensive research on the post-1858 experiences of more than three hundred Utah Expedition soldiers.

⁶⁶John Sobieski, *The Life-Story and Personal Reminiscences of Col. John Sobieski, a Lineal Descendant of King John III, of Poland, Written by Himself to Which Is Added His Popular Lecture "The Republic of Poland," and a Brief History of Poland* (Shelbyville, Ill.: J. L. Douthit & Son, 1900).

⁶⁷James B. Agnew, "General Barnard Bee," *Civil War Times Illustrated* 14 (December 1975): 4-9, 45-47; James B. Agnew, "'A Day of Sorrow and a Day of Glory': A Brief Chronicle of the Career of Brigadier General Barnard E. Bee, CSA," 1974, unpublished paper, Collections of U.S. Army Military History Institute, Carlisle Barracks, Pennsylvania.

⁶⁸Bob Rea, "Ben Clark: Chief of Scouts," 2002, paper delivered at the symposium, "Through the Eyes of History," Washita, Oklahoma, November 2002.

Second Lieutenant Samuel Wragg Ferguson, Second U.S. Dragoons during the Utah War, accepted the surrender of Fort Sumter in April 1861 and, in April 1865, escorted Jefferson Davis in his futile dash south from Richmond.⁶⁹ Brevet Captain Jesse Lee Reno, commander of the Utah Expedition's siege battery, gave his name to a Nevada town and a Wyoming fort after dying a Union major general at South Mountain, Maryland. Defiant ninety-six-year-old Barbara Fritchie's American flag draped Reno's coffin as he lay in state in Boston.⁷⁰

William H. F. ("Rooney") Lee, Robert E. Lee's second son, wangled a lieutenant's commission in the Utah Expedition's Sixth Infantry against his father's wishes, had his friend, the talented Henry Adams, ghost-write an eloquent acceptance to doting old General Winfield Scott, and dropped out of Harvard in the spring of 1857. Rooney Lee later became the Confederacy's youngest major general. He was captured by Lieutenant Colonel and Brevet Brigadier General Samuel P. Spear, commander of a Pennsylvania cavalry regiment and, for ten years before that, sergeant-major of the Utah Expedition's Second Dragoons. After the Civil War, Rooney Lee rebuilt his life as a successful planter while burnishing his father's image by deleting anti-Mormon comments from his father's publish-

⁶⁹Ferguson, no relation to the Nauvoo Legion's adjutant general, applied unsuccessfully for a commission in the U.S. Army during the Spanish-American War. James Marvin Lowrey, *Samuel Wragg Ferguson: Brig. General, CSA, and Wife Catherine Lee, Featuring Selections from Their Writings* (Sulphur, La.: n.pub., 1994); Heyward and Ferguson Family Papers, Southern History Collection, Wilson Library, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill; Samuel Wragg Ferguson Papers, Special Collections, Hill Memorial Library, Louisiana State University, Baton Rouge; Samuel W. Ferguson, "With Albert Sidney Johnston's Expedition to Utah, 1857," *Collections of the Kansas State Historical Society* 12 (1912): 303-12.

⁷⁰Conrad Reno, "General Jesse Lee Reno at Frederick, Barbara Fritchie, and Her Flag," *Civil War Papers Read before the Commandery of the State of Massachusetts, Military Order of the Loyal Legion of the United States*, 70 vols. (Wilmington, NC: Broadfoot Publishing, 1993), 2:553-69. Fritchie, who defiantly flew an American flag from the dormer of her house when Stonewall Jackson's Confederates occupied Frederick, Maryland, in 1862, became a national heroine after John Greenleaf Whittier's poem commemorating the incident was published in 1863.

ed letters, written to Albert Sidney Johnston during the Utah War. As Lee prospered, Spear, wounded and plagued by alcoholism as well as the rough ways of the frontier, was forced out of the army, was rejected and paid off by his genteel wife's scandalized Philadelphia family, served as a general in the Fenians' failed 1866 invasion of Canada, and lapsed into a life of poverty in New York with a common-law wife until his death in 1875.⁷¹

Private Charles H. Wilcken, recipient of the Iron Cross for Prussian military service before he emigrated to the United States, deserted from the Fourth U.S. Artillery's Battery B by crossing into the Nauvoo Legion's lines during the fall of 1857, converted to Mormonism, and married an LDS woman. From 1871 on, as Wilcken traveled outside Utah, he carried a concocted document asserting that the Nauvoo Legion had captured him during the Utah War, presumably as a defense against being retaken by the U.S. Army and court-martialed for desertion.⁷² As coachman, bodyguard, and eventually nurse-pallbearer for Presidents Taylor and Woodruff, and adopted son of Apostle George Q. Cannon, Wilcken witnessed a divine visitation to Taylor and served as a pallbearer at Lot Smith's reburial.⁷³

Another deserter from the same federal battery, Andrew Martin Mason, also converted and married an LDS woman. With some gall and perhaps desperation, Mason applied unsuccessfully for an Indian Wars pension in 1928, five years before his death in Ogden on 26 March 1933 at ninety-eight.⁷⁴

⁷¹Henry Adams, *The Education of Henry Adams: An Autobiography* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1918), 59; Mary Daughtry, *Gray Cavalier: The Life and Wars of General W. H. F. "Rooney" Lee* (New York: De Capo Press, 2002), 27-52; Robert E. Lee, Letter to Rooney Lee, 1 November 1856, and Rooney Lee, Letter to Mary Custis Lee, 2 June 1857, Lee Family Papers, Library, Virginia Historical Society, Richmond; and Thomas L. Connelly, *The Marble Man: Robert E. Lee and His Image in American Society* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1977), 119. My thanks to researcher Curtis R. Allen for calling the Lee-Spear capture to my attention. Spear has no biography, and the events of his life after 1865 must be assembled from affidavits in his army pension file, National Archives.

⁷²William C. Seifrit, "Charles Henry Wilcken: An Undervalued Saint," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 55 (Fall 1987): 311.

⁷³*Ibid.*, 308-21.

Another man who saw service with the Utah Expedition's Fourth Artillery was Sergeant Thomas Moonlight who later reentered the U.S. Army with a commission to fight on the Union side in the Civil War. He rose to brevet brigadier general but was forced out in 1865. After serving as Kansas's adjutant general, he also became governor of Wyoming Territory and served as U.S. ambassador to Bolivia before dying in 1899. As Wyoming's governor, Moonlight pardoned Harry Longabaugh, the Sundance Kid, who also finished his career in Bolivia.⁷⁵

Private John Jerome ("Johnny") Healy, a native of Cork, Ireland, served in the Second Dragoons during the Utah Expedition, after a filibustering campaign in Nicaragua with General William Walker, then drifted north to Montana's earliest gold strikes during the Civil War, co-founded Alberta's notorious whiskey-trading post, Fort Whoop-Up, and became sheriff of Montana's Fort Benton during the 1870s. In 1882 Healy established a successful trading post at Dyea below Alaska's Chilkoot Pass. During the Klondike gold rush of the late 1890s, he became a major trading-transportation magnate in Dawson under Chicago's Cudahy family, as well as a central figure (Jacob Welse) in Jack London's first novel, *A Daughter of the Snows* (1902). Healy died of cirrhosis of the liver in San Francisco in 1908, broke and exhausted after a failed effort to promote a railroad link between Siberia and North America beneath the Bering Straits. To Healy, a newspaper reporter in Montana, goes the credit for coining the informal but enduring motto of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police: "They always get their man."⁷⁶

⁷⁴Andrew Martin Mason, "A Soldier's Story (Johnston's Army)," downloaded 4 April 2002 from <http://heritage.uen.org/cgi-bin/websql/query.hts?type=3&tid=51009>; Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Ancestral File; Mason military pension file, National Archives.

⁷⁵W. Turrentine Jackson, "Administration of Governor Thomas Moonlight," *Annals of Wyoming* 18 (1946): 139-62. Although several biographical sketches mention his service in the Utah Expedition, army records show that Moonlight was discharged as first sergeant of the Fourth U.S. Artillery's Company D at Fort Leavenworth on 17 May 1858; but it was Company B (Phelps's), not D that was assigned to Albert Sidney Johnston. Moonlight military records, National Archives.

⁷⁶Because of the breadth and flamboyance of Healy's career, there is a plethora of journal articles about his Montana, Alberta, and Alaska years

First Lieutenant Robert L. Browning of Cincinnati was the U.S. Marine Corps' one-man contribution to the Utah War. He volunteered for the campaign, ostensibly as an observer seeking professional development, but probably trying to escape a dreary assignment at the Boston Navy Yard after being court-martialed in 1856. After incurring the wrath of Marine Corps headquarters for overstaying his Utah assignment, Browning returned to sea duty in 1860 and drowned in the Pacific with all of his shipmates when *U.S.S. Levant* foundered.⁷⁷ Novelist Edward Everett Hale later exiled the fictive army Lieutenant Philip Nolan to this ship (he uses the real name) in his 1917 story *The Man without a Country*.

The hint of a tantalizing legacy from the Utah War surfaces with our awareness that the Grand Army of the Republic held its summer 1909 national encampment in Salt Lake City, a gathering that symbolized both Utah's patriotism and its citizens' acceptance as Americans.⁷⁸ It would be fascinating to know how many of these Civil War veterans, not yet discussed here, also saw service in the

but little linking him to the Utah Expedition. Dan L. Thrapp, *Encyclopedia of Frontier Biography*, 3 vols. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1988), 2:637; William R. Hunt, *Whiskey Peddler, Johnny Healy, North Frontier Trader* (Missoula, Mont.: Mountain Press Publishing, 1933); Gerald L. Berry, *The Whoop-Up Trail (Alberta-Montana Relationships)* (Edmonton, Alberta: Applied Art Products, 1953); and Pierre Berton, *The Klondike Fever* (New York: Carroll and Graf, 1958).

⁷⁷A rumor has circulated at U.S. Marine Corps headquarters for more than 140 years that an unidentified subaltern participated in the otherwise all-army Utah Expedition. Thanks to references in Giese, *My Life with the Army in the West*, 18, 21-22, I have identified this marine officer as Browning. He crossed the plains with the army's reinforcements in the spring of 1858. I express appreciation to Archibald Hanna Jr., Curator Emeritus, Yale Western Americana Collection, and Colonel, USMC (Ret'd.) for drawing the rumor to my attention during the 1970s and to Harold D. Langley, Curator (Ret'd.) of the Smithsonian's Division of Naval History, National Museum of American History, for help in locating Browning's service record and reports at the National Archives.

⁷⁸Ardis E. Parshall, "'This Splendid Outpouring of Welcome': Salt Lake City and the 1909 Encampment of the Grand Army of the Republic," paper delivered at the Utah State Historical Society annual meeting, August 2001.

Utah War on either the Mormon or federal sides and what stories they swapped.

What could be called the cross-over stories are also fascinating. Some Utah Expedition troops—both deserters and honorably discharged—remained in Utah and converted to Mormonism, as with Wilcken and Mason. Conversely, some Nauvoo Legion troops or veterans apostatized, left Utah, and formed new religious affiliations. Martin Mullins, the Fifth U.S. Infantry's Irish-born sergeant-major, had a son who married an LDS woman in Arkansas. William Davis Drown, the Second U.S. Dragoons' New Hampshire-born chief bugler, died in Texas, but among his descendants are Mormons living in British Columbia.⁷⁹ Sergeant Peter McAuslan, a disillusioned, Scottish-born Nauvoo Legionnaire, fled with his family from Spanish Fork, Utah, to California under army escort in 1859. He eventually became a Spiritualist, while his great-great-grandniece Polly Aird, a Catholic living in Seattle, today serves on the *Journal of Mormon History* board. And so they became us, and we became them—perhaps one of history's most valuable lessons.⁸⁰

⁷⁹Audrey M. Godfrey, "Camp Floyd: Dust in the Wind or a Utah Windfall," paper delivered at symposium to commemorate the 140th anniversary of Fort Douglas, 26 October 2002. Florence Ann Mullins, Mullins's daughter-in-law, is identified as LDS in 9 December 1943 "Record of Funeral," photocopy in my possession. For Drown, see Theo. F. Rodenbough, comp., *From Everglade to Canyon with the Second United States Cavalry, an Authentic Account of Service in Florida, Mexico, Virginia, and the Indian Country, Including the Personal Recollections of Prominent Officers* (1875; reprinted Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2000), 194-230; Drown pension record, National Archives. His full name and death in Harper, Texas, 4 May 1906, are published here for the first time. His descendant, Arvey Drown, is a member of the Surrey, British Columbia Stake. 2001 e-mail correspondence with me.

⁸⁰Polly Aird, "Escape from Zion: The U.S. Army Escort of Mormon Apostates in 1859," paper presented at the MHA Annual Meeting, May 2002, Tucson, Arizona; an article with the same title, *Nevada Historical Society Quarterly* 44 (Fall 2001): 196-237; e-mail correspondence 2001-02 between Aird and MacKinnon. McAuslan served in the Fourth Platoon, Company F, Third Battalion, Nauvoo Legion's First Regiment of Infantry, Peteetneet Military District.

Teamsters and Gamblers

A collection of civilian employees and hangers-on as intriguing as the troops accompanied the Utah Expedition. They had no real counterparts on the Mormon side, where participants functioned under Church discipline, not as independent free-booters.

Eleven-year-old William Frederick ("Buffalo Bill") Cody claimed he saw Lot Smith's raid while working as an assistant teamster for Russell, Majors, and Waddell. By his own account, Cody went on to become successively a Pony Express rider, Union Army private, buffalo hunter, army scout, Medal of Honor winner, rancher, showman, and national legend. Less well known is the fact that Cody dubbed his favorite buffalo-hunting horse Brigham Young.⁸¹ James Butler Hickok, allegedly a card sharp at Fort Bridger and young Cody's protector there during the winter of 1857-58, later became "Wild Bill" Hickok who tamed a succession of Kansas cow towns before being assassinated at age thirty-nine during an 1876 card game in Deadwood, South Dakota.⁸² William Clarke Quantrill of

⁸¹Starting with William F. Cody, *The Life of Hon. William F. Cody, Known as Buffalo Bill, the Famous Hunter, Scout and Guide: An Autobiography* (Hartford, Conn.: Frank E. Bliss, 1879), Cody generated multiple and increasingly inconsistent accounts of his Utah War adventures, a record muddled by the uneven work of subsequent biographers, as well as Cody's known penchant for exaggeration, if not myth-making, on other subjects such as the Pony Express. The clearest path through this historiographical thicket is John S. Gray, "Fact Versus Fiction in the Kansas Boyhood of Buffalo Bill," *Kansas History* 8 (Spring 1985): 2-20. Gray believes that Cody did not participate in the Utah War but in his autobiography conflated his own experiences with those of the teamsters with whom he mingled while growing up near Fort Leavenworth. Paul Fees, former curator at the Buffalo Bill Historical Center in Cody, Wyoming, agrees with Gray's conclusion but believes that Cody's 1879 account of a Utah War involvement may have been inspired either by an 1877 stage play (*May Cody; or Lost and Won*), set during the Utah War, or authentic stories by Ben Clark, who spent the winter of 1857-58 at Fort Bridger as a fifteen-year-old teamster. E-mail, 26 June 2003.

⁸²The story of Hickok's presence at Fort Bridger during the winter of 1857-58 comes solely from Cody's autobiography. Gray, "Fact Versus Fiction," 14, challenges Hickok's involvement with the Utah Expedition as "simply one of Bill's inventions." Bobby Bridger of Austin, Texas, a

Ohio gambled at Fort Bridger and was a cook at Camp Floyd before becoming the Civil War's most notorious guerrilla. He was shot down by a federal patrol in Kentucky in 1865. Until relatively recently, his skull was kept in the refrigerator of an Ohio household.⁸³ Missourian George Sheppard, a Utah War teamster, joined Quantrill's band, then later rode with the Jesse James-Cole Younger bank-robbing gang, and saw further government "service" in a Kentucky penitentiary.⁸⁴

Charles R. Morehead, a twenty-one-year-old native of Lexington, Missouri, was also employed by Russell, Majors, and Waddell. (William H. Russell was his uncle.) He worked for a time as a Salt Lake storekeeper, then headed for a rendezvous with destiny as mayor of such tough frontier towns as Leavenworth, Kansas, and El

balladeer who describes himself as Jim Bridger's great-grand-nephew, wrote a song "The Scouts" and *Buffalo Bill and Sitting Bull: Inventing the Wild West* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2002), xi, 22-23, which assert without documentation that Christopher ("Kit") Carson, Jim Bridger, Bill Cody, and Wild Bill Hickok were all at Fort Bridger with the Utah Expedition. Carson was continuously present in New Mexico Territory as a U.S. Indian agent that winter. Bridger and MacKinnon, e-mail messages, 22-23 April 2000.

⁸³Henry S. Clarke, "W. C. Quantrill in 1858," *Kansas Historical Collections* 7 (1901-2): 218-23; William Elsey Connelley, *Quantrill and the Border Wars* (Lawrence: Kansas Heritage Press, 1992), 1-7, 66, 75-81, 87, 94-96, 99-100, 103-4, 109-10; Barry A. Crouch, "A 'Fiend in Human Shape'? William Clarke Quantrill and His Biographers," *Kansas History* 22 (Summer 1999): 143-56; Edward E. Leslie, *The Devil Knows How to Ride: The True Story of William Clarke Quantrill and His Confederate Raiders* (New York: Random House, 1996), 52-63; and Martin E. Ismert, "Quantrill-Charley Hart?" paper presented at the Posse of the Westerners of Kansas City, 13 October 1959, William Clarke Quantrill Research Collection, McCain Library, University of Southern Mississippi, Hattiesburg.

⁸⁴Charles Becker, "With Johnston's Army, 1857," 4, typescript, Merrill Library, Utah State University, Logan; Joanne Chiles Eakin and Donald R. Hale, comps., *Branded as Rebels: A List of Bushwhackers, Guerrillas, Partisan Rangers, Confederates and Southern Sympathizers from Missouri during the War Years* (Independence: Wee Print, 1993), 391; Gilbert Cuthbertson, "Shepherd Was Name to Fear in Border War Era," *Kansas City [Missouri] Times*, 9 September 1965, 140.



Harvard graduate
Albert G. Browne Jr.
(1835-91), Utah
War correspondent,
clerk of the federal
court in Green River
County, Wyoming,
and Henrietta Poly-
dore's guardian.
This photograph was
taken in 1863 when
he was twenty-eight.
Photo courtesy The
Schlesinger Library,
Radcliffe Institute,
Harvard University.

Paso, Texas. During the salad days of the notorious Texas gunman John Wesley Hardin and his assassin, John Selman, Morehead held the respected but risky position of an El Paso bank president.⁸⁵

Clement W. Stone, son of Kalamazoo (Michigan) College's minister-president, headed west as a teamster with James M. Wells, a Kalamazoo College drop-out. During the Civil War, both enlisted in Michigan volunteer regiments as sergeants and became captains. Wells made a spectacular escape from Richmond's notorious Libby Prison.⁸⁶ Three lads from Ann Arbor, expelled from the University

⁸⁵"Charles R. Morehead, Pioneer Banker, City Builder, Farmer, Mayor of El Paso, Dead at 86," *El Paso Times*, 16 December 1921, 1, 3; Owen P. White, *Out of the Desert: A Historical Romance of El Paso* (El Paso, Tex.: McMath Co., 1923), 339-45; William Elsey Connelley, *War with Mexico, 1846-1847: Doniphan's Expedition and the Conquest of New Mexico and California* (Topeka, Kans.: n.p., 1907), 600-22.

⁸⁶Larry Massie, "Local Officer Made Daring Escape from Confederate Prison," *Kalamazoo Gazette*, 19 March 1989, F-2; James M.

of Michigan after a drinking bout that left a classmate dead, signed on as assistant forage masters with the Utah Expedition's quartermaster. The most famous of the trio, Elon John Farnsworth, became a cavalry lieutenant during the Civil War on the Union side, received an extraordinary promotion from captain to brigadier general, and four days later protested an order to lead a futile charge at Gettysburg likened to that of the Crimean War's Light Brigade. He obediently died in the attempt, the Union's only general officer killed behind Confederate lines.⁸⁷

Journalists

Ironically, the Utah Expedition's highest-profile camp followers were anonymous. They were the professional correspondents and stringers who reported under arduous conditions for the *Times*, *Tribune*, and *Herald* of New York, San Francisco's *Evening Bulletin*, Cincinnati's *Enquirer*, Philadelphia's *Daily Evening Bulletin*, and Washington, D.C.'s, *Union*. Following the convention of the times, they had no by-lines but were occasionally identified by cryptic pseudonyms: "A.B.C.," "S.," "Argus," "Achilles," "Utah," "Kenton," and "Kenton Jr." Their experiences were a remarkable but unappreciated foundation for the Civil War reporting that followed.

Perhaps most flamboyant was the *New York Times*'s James W. Simonton ("S."), who also sent dispatches to San Francisco. At the end of the Utah War, he survived a knife-fight in Provo with Lemuel Fillmore, the *New York Herald*'s reporter and a distant relative of former President Millard Fillmore, then moved to San Francisco where briefly he became editor and part-owner of the *Evening Bulletin*. He next made a quick trip to the Fraser River gold fields in British Columbia, returned to New York in 1859, engaged in a brief verbal clash with President Lincoln, then settled down for a decades-long run in Manhattan as the Associated Press's general agent. Si-

Wells, "With Touch of Elbow," or, *Death Before Dishonor. A Thrilling Narrative of Adventure on Land and Sea* (Philadelphia: John C. Winston, 1909).

⁸⁷D. L. Jaehnig, "The Brigadier," *Livingston County [Michigan] Press*, 11 May 1977, A-1, 5, 9; Eric Wittenberg, "A Bold and Fearless Rider: Brig. Gen. Elon J. Farnsworth," downloaded 25 February 2002 from <http://www.gdg.org/efarnswo.html>; Francis F. McKinney, "The Last Act at Gettysburg, The Death of Farnsworth," *Quarterly Review of the Michigan Alumnus* 65 (Autumn 1959): 75-79.

monton was so disliked in Utah that, twenty-three years after his three-months' visit, a Salt Lake City newspaper noted his retirement from the Associated Press by commenting, "Mr. Simonton has proven himself to be about the most unfit man that could be imagined for head of the great news gathering and distributing association."⁸⁸ Lemuel Fillmore returned to Kansas from Utah in August 1858, became a real-estate speculator, and was among the 150 corpses that Quantrill's guerrillas left in the ruins of Lawrence on 21 August 1863 in perhaps the worst atrocity of the Civil War.⁸⁹

Horace Greeley's *New York Tribune* assigned Albert G. Browne Jr., to the Utah Expedition. A talented reporter and lawyer from Salem, Massachusetts, he had a B.A. degree from Harvard College and a Ph.D. from the University of Heidelberg. At age nineteen, he had been arrested in Boston during a bloody 1854 riot in which a mob of abolitionists tried unsuccessfully to free fugitive slave Anthony Burns. At Camp Scott, Browne not only sent dispatches to the *Tribune* but served as clerk of the Utah District Court for Green River County, which gave him unrivaled access to legal documents, insider information, and the Utah Expedition's most senior military and civil leaders. During January-May 1858, Browne made an arduous round trip between Camp Scott and Washington, D.C., to carry dispatches for Johnston and Chief Justice Delana R. Eckels to Winfield Scott and James Buchanan's cabinet. In 1859, James Russell Lowell's *Atlantic Monthly* published Browne's definitive but unattributed insider's analysis of the Utah War. During the Civil War, Browne served as a lieutenant colonel and military secretary to his mentor, Massachusetts Governor John A. Andrew, then married

⁸⁸Elmer Davis, *History of the New York Times, 1851-1921* (New York: New York Times, 1921), 41-42; "Burial of James W. Simonton," *New York Times*, 20 November 1882; "James W. Simonton," *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper*, 10 September 1859, 226; and Augustus Maverick, *Henry J. Raymond and the New York Press for Thirty Years: Progress of American Journalism from 1840 to 1870* (Hartford, Conn.: A. S. Hale and Co., 1870), 105-7, 143, 327; "J. W. Simonton," *Salt Lake Herald*, 28 July 1881, 4.

⁸⁹Lemuel Fillmore's full name has heretofore been unpublished. See his diary, 1 January-10 August 1858, typescript made from Fillmore's shorthand notes, American Heritage Center, Centennial Complex, East Campus, University of Wyoming, Laramie. My thanks to Will Bagley of Salt Lake City for bringing this typescript to my attention.

Martha ("Mattie") Griffith, one of the nation's leading abolitionists and feminists. He served as a prestigious reporter for the federal court system in Boston, then edited a succession of New York newspapers, then worked as a banker in Boston until his death in 1891. A Harvard classmate cryptically attributed Browne's death to "a disease dating probably from the privations encountered in the Utah Expedition, from which he had suffered for many years with fortitude." His physician, in contrast, certified that the cause of death was long-term diabetes compounded by exhaustion.⁹⁰

On the Mormon side, the newspaper men—the Church's public defenders and spokesmen—were anything but anonymous. As the expedition neared Utah, George Q. Cannon, editor of the *Western Standard* in San Francisco, closed up shop and returned to Utah, as did his uncle, John Taylor, editor of *The Mormon* in New York. Cannon, associate editor of the *Deseret News*, was called at thirty-one to the Quorum of the Twelve in 1858, filling the vacancy caused by Jedediah M. Grant's death. Cannon was subsequently Utah's territorial delegate in Congress, a life-long intimate of Thomas L. Kane, chief executive of the Church's substantial publishing business, and a counselor in the First Presidency from 1873 until his death in 1901. His biographer, Davis Bitton, makes a persuasive case that, "aside from the founding prophet, Joseph Smith, and Brigham Young, no one surpassed Cannon as a leader, shaper, and defender of nineteenth-century Mormonism."⁹¹

Mentoring Cannon at the *Deseret News* during the Utah War was Albert Carrington, a Dartmouth alumnus, surveyor with the 1849-50 Stansbury expedition, accomplished editor, and personal

⁹⁰Browne has no biography. The best summary of his colorful, productive life is "Albert Gallatin Browne," *Report of the Harvard Class of 1853, 1849-1913, Issued on the Sixtieth Anniversary for the Use of the Class and Its Friends* (Cambridge, Mass.: [Harvard] University Press, 1913, 46-51. See also Albert G. Browne, Jr., "The Utah Expedition," *Atlantic Monthly* 3 (March-May 1859): 361-75, 474-91, 570-85; entry for Albert G. Browne, "Undertaker's Return—Boston," 24 June 1891, Boston MA Deaths, 1891, film #594,515, LDS Church Family History Library, Salt Lake City.

⁹¹Roger R. Ekins, *Defending Zion: George Q. Cannon and the California Mormon Newspaper Wars of 1856-1857* (Spokane, Wash.: Arthur H. Clark, 2003); Davis Bitton, *George Q. Cannon: A Biography* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1999), dust jacket, front flap.

secretary to Brigham Young. Carrington was also called as an apostle (1870), excommunicated for adultery (1885), reinstated (1887), and died (1889).

Women during the Utah War

Thousands of Mormon women actively and obviously supported the Nauvoo Legion's mobilization and campaign. Still, despite the impressive number of monographs and published diaries on Utah women during the nineteenth century, virtually none mentions the Utah War except for almost obligatory references to the hardships of the move south or a few vignettes. Among the latter was Mary Brannigan Crandall's loan of a prized Irish bearskin coat to a thinly clad Nauvoo Legionnaire, who returned it in such deplorable condition that it served out its remaining useful days as a rug.⁹² A significant exception is the work of Audrey M. Godfrey, an energetic Logan historian, who stands virtually alone in her examination of federal dependents and Mormon women at and around Camp Scott and Camp Floyd.⁹³ To some unassessed extent, this invisibility may have been self-induced. Just as Brigham Young and Daniel H. Wells were cautious in their Utah War comments, the material about this campaign written by their most literate wives, Eliza Roxcy Snow and Emmeline B. Wells, is disappointingly thin.

Some non-Mormon women accompanied their husbands and lovers from Fort Leavenworth to Fort Bridger: a dozen or so officers' wives, company laundresses, and mountaineers' companions. Elizabeth Wells Randall Cumming, the governor's wife, endured frostbite on the march and overwork and anxiety at Camp Scott. But her last published letter is dated 24 September 1858. What of her experiences during the tempestuous three years in Utah Territory that followed? A Bostonian descendant of Samuel Adams, how did she react to the Civil War when she returned east with her Georgia-born

⁹²Mary Brannigan Crandall, "Autobiography of a Noble Woman," *Young Woman's Journal* 6 (July/August 1895): 465, 506. My thanks to Lyndia McDowell Carter of Springville, Utah, for calling this account to my attention.

⁹³Audrey M. Godfrey, "Housewives, Hussies, and Heroines: The Women with Johnston's Army," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 54 (Spring 1986): 157-78 and "A Social History of Camp Floyd, Utah Territory, 1858-1861" (M.S. thesis, Utah State University, 1989).

husband? While enduring the rigors of Reconstruction in Augusta, Georgia, before her death in 1867, did she reflect on the federal occupation of Utah?⁹⁴

Colonel Edmund B. Alexander, Lieutenant Colonels E. R. S. Canby and Carlos A. Waite, First Lieutenant William W. Burns, and Second Lieutenant Samuel S. Carroll were all accompanied west by their wives. Did they leave letters and diaries? Tantalizing snippets are available about Louisa Hawkins Canby's much-appreciated nursing skills, first at Camp Scott and then on the Civil War battlefields of New Mexico. An unidentified infantry officer later wrote warmly about her services at Camp Scott to a North Carolina newspaper: "You may imagine, Messrs. Editors, that a good many of those rough old soldiers [in hospital], who had not seen the smiling face of a mother, sister or any kindred, for a number of years, showered blessings on that excellent lady."⁹⁵ Sergeant Ralph Pike, whom Howard Spencer shot in Salt Lake City in 1859, left a daguerreotype among his meager personal effects showing two small girls. Who and where were they? The unnamed wife of artillery First Sergeant James Stewart was trapped at Fort Kearny when winter closed in. Did she record her thoughts about her husband's absence in Utah?⁹⁶ The letters of Mary Bradley Beanes Cross Reno, written from Pennsylvania and Washington, D.C., to her captain husband have never been published.⁹⁷ Sarah Whitman Parris Tracy, daughter of Albion K.

⁹⁴Canning and Beeton, *Genteel Gentle*.

⁹⁵[General] John Parker Hawkins, *Memoranda Concerning Some Branches of the Hawkins Family and Connections* (Indianapolis, Ind.: n.pub., 1913), 27; "Gen. Canby," *Daily Sentinel* (Raleigh, N.C.), 11 September 1867, 1.

⁹⁶Although First Sergeant (later Major) Stewart's several articles about his military career are silent about his wife, the desire of the couple to be reunited in Utah as soon as possible during the spring of 1858 comes through in an inquiry by Stewart's battery commander about her winter accommodations and spring travel arrangements. Captain John W. Phelps, Letter to Commanding Officer, Fort Kearny, 30 January 1858, Phelps Papers, Auerbach Collection, Firestone Library, Princeton University. Phelps referred to Mrs. Stewart approvingly as "a soldier's wife and a worthy woman."

⁹⁷William F. McConnell, *Remember Reno: A Biography of Major General Jesse Lee Reno* (Shippensburg, Penn.: White Mane Publishing, 1996). There

Parris (Maine's governor and U.S. Senator) and wife of Captain Albert Tracy, waited for him in Portland, Maine, Boston, and Washington, D.C. His diary records her successful maneuvering to obtain his furlough two years after the Utah War's end and her involvement in his Civil War campaigning under the erratic General John C. Fremont.⁹⁸

Did the mother of Private George W. Clark, waiting anxiously in Vermont, ever learn the details of his career after his June 1855 enlistment in the Tenth U.S. Infantry? He deserted from Company I in October 1857 on Ham's Fork. Five months later, a dragoon patrol on Smith's Fork found him hanged, presumably by the Nauvoo Legion.⁹⁹ In 1857 Tim Goodale's Indian wife, Jenny, accompanied her guide-husband and Captain Marcy's detachment down the snowy spine of the continental divide to New Mexico during the most arduous winter march in American military history and reluctantly sacrificed her pony to relieve the group's starvation. Tim Goodale was last seen in 1865 at Brownlee's Ferry on the Oregon side of the Snake River; but what was Jenny's subsequent life?¹⁰⁰

William Simmons, a private in the Nauvoo Legion, was unintentionally killed by a Mormon comrade on the rim of Echo Canyon

is no biography of Mrs. Reno.

⁹⁸J. Cecil Alter and Robert J. Dwyer, eds., "Journal of Captain Albert Tracy 1858-1860" *Utah Historical Quarterly* 13 (January-October 1945): 1-128, records Sarah Tracy's travels and efforts on behalf of her husband, but her father's identity and her full name surface only in Tracy's pension file, National Archives.

⁹⁹Clark's military record; Archivist David H. Wallace, Letter to MacKinnon, 20 August 2002, National Archives. An understanding of Clark's story can be assembled from [probably W. J. McCormick], 1 March 1858, "Murder of Dr. G. W. Hickman," *Cincinnati Enquirer*, reprinted *New York Daily Tribune*, 16 April 1858, 6, downloaded 12 April 2001 from <http://www.hickmansfamily.homestead.com/files/murderGWH.htm>; A. B. C. [probably David A. Burr], 5 March 1858, "From the Utah Army," *New York Times*, 19 May 1858, 1.

¹⁰⁰Randolph B. Marcy, *Thirty Years of Army Life on the Border* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1866), 233-34; Irving R. Merrill and Merle Wells, "Tim Goodale Comes Home," *Overland Journal: The Official Journal of the Oregon-California Trails Association* 17 (Summer 1999): 29.

Henrietta Polydore, about age seventeen, pencil sketch by Dante Gabriel Rossetti, 1863, Photograph courtesy of Victoria and Albert Picture Library.



in September 1857. He left two destitute sister-widows and their six young children, all of whom had to be supported by their father, Thomas Grover, himself a widower, until they remarried in 1860. When one of the wives applied to Lieutenant General Daniel H. Wells for “some thousand pounds of flour said to be in the Commissary department of Davis Mil[itary] Dis[trict],” Wells crisply instructed John Hess, bishop of Farmington Ward, to tell “Bro Grover that he is considered able to take care of his children, and you will please to look after the family and see if they need help from the Church afford [sic] it. The flour turned into the Commissary department cannot be used for any such purpose.”¹⁰¹

¹⁰¹Daniel H. Wells, Letter to Bishop John Hess, 2 January 1858, Brigham Young Collection, LDS Archives. Nine months later, Grover, in sending in his tithing, described his struggle in trying to feed eight additional relatives lacking beef, vegetables, and support from his bishop. Young replied, with slightly more sympathy but no more concrete aid than Wells: “As soon as we receive any beef cattle we will let you have some.” Grover, Letter to Young, 19 September 1858; Young, Letter to Grover, 20 September 1858, Brigham Young Collection, LDS Archives.

When will Elizabeth Wood Kane's Pennsylvania journal be published, disclosing her serious concerns about Thomas L. Kane's 1858 mission to Utah?¹⁰² Another untold story two generations later, is the successful struggle of Utah women who got Nauvoo Legion veterans accepted into Salt Lake City's GAR post and then energetically established their own women's auxiliary, the Lot Smith Circle.¹⁰³

Perhaps the most remarkable of these forgotten women is Henrietta Polydore, whose tale straddles both sides of the Utah War and involved senior officers in both the British and American governments.¹⁰⁴ Her mother, Henrietta Mayer Polydore, originally from

¹⁰²Elizabeth Wood Kane, Journals, Kane Family Collection, L. Tom Perry Special Collections, Lee Library, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah. A first paper on this subject is Darcee D. Barnes, "Elizabeth Kane's 'Mormon Problem': Another Perspective of Thomas L. Kane's Work for the Mormons," paper delivered at the MHA Annual Meeting, May 2002, Tucson, Arizona.

¹⁰³Fisher, *Utah and the Civil War*, 144-67.

¹⁰⁴Two letters by Albert G. Browne Jr.: 5 August 1857, "Later from Utah, Legislative Election, Arrival of Judge Sinclair, Religious Meetings Discontinued, Troops for Oregon," *New York Daily Tribune*, 6 September 1858; 11 September 1858, "Arrival of Trains, Army Supplies, Drinking, Gambling and Fighting, Confusion in the Territorial Secretary's Office, A New Journal, etc.," *New York Daily Tribune*, n.d. [ca. mid-October 1858]; Albert G. Browne Jr., "The Ward of the Three Guardians," *Atlantic Monthly* 39 (June 1877): 697-716. His account of her later life is quite fictive. Browne apparently had no contact with her after 1858. Other sources are Samuel Whitney Richards Papers, 1837-1929, MS 6576, LDS Church Archives; Jane Mayer Richards, Correspondence, 1857-67, MS 3528, LDS Church Archives; entries for Mayer and Polydore, Mississippi City, Harrison County, Mississippi, U.S. Census 1870; Jane Elizabeth Mayer in "Samuel Whitney Richards, His Wives, Children, and Descendants," downloaded 4 August 2002 from <http://www.nl.net/~mcward/swr.htm>; Polydore case correspondence, U.S. State Department, Territorial Papers, Utah Series, Vol. 1, 30 April 1853-24 December 1859, National Archives, film #491,567, LDS Family History Library, Salt Lake City; Polydore case correspondence, British Foreign Office (FO 115/195, FO 115/198, FO 281/5, FO 282/5) Public Record Office, London; Antony H. Harrison, ed., *The Letters of Christina Rossetti*, 2 vols. (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1997, 1999), 1:5-6, 51-52, 96-97, 135-36, 200, 212, 217-18, 230-31, 256, 270-71, 279-80, 284, 299, 323, 354, 356-57, 393-95, 400-401, 405-6, 415, 417, 419-25,

Cheltenham, Gloucestershire, joined the LDS Church in England in 1852, became estranged from her husband, Henry, an English barrister of Italian descent, and abducted their only child, eight-year-old Henrietta, from her Catholic boarding school in England in 1854. They sailed secretly for New Orleans while Henry Polydore asked Lord Clarendon, the British minister of foreign affairs, to alert British consuls in American ports. Mother and daughter avoided detection and reached Salt Lake City in company with Mrs. Polydore's sister, Jane Mayer, the fourth wife of Samuel W. Richards, well-known leader in the British Mission and the Perpetual Emigrating Fund. Mrs. Polydore then lived with Mormon relatives in the American South, while young Henrietta (alias Lucy) settled in with the Richards family in Salt Lake City.¹⁰⁵

In late March 1858, John Hyde Jr., a British convert who had apostatized when he encountered Utah polygamy, wrote Polydore from New Orleans, telling him that Henrietta was in Utah. Polydore, frantic to retrieve his twelve-year-old daughter from what he envisioned as her moral ruin in Utah's polygamic culture, wrote a series of letters to the Earl of Malmesbury (the new foreign minister), George W. Dallas (U.S. minister to Great Britain), and Dallas's counterpart in Washington, D.C., Lord Napier, who recruited General Lewis Cass, Buchanan's secretary of state, to rescue Henrietta. By the time Albert Sidney Johnston began constructing Camp Floyd in early July 1858, he had received instructions from the War Department to retrieve Henrietta from the Richards family and send her to Lord Napier in Washington for repatriation.

Johnston's adjutant, Major Fitz John Porter, assigned the case to Washington Jay McCormick, a twenty-three-year-old Indiana lawyer. Since January 1858, McCormick had been interim U.S. attorney for Utah. He promptly brought suit on Henry Polydore's behalf in Salt Lake's newly reactivated U.S. district court before Chief Justice

429-31; 2:x, 17-18, 26-29, 258-59, 264; "Arrival of Celebrities from Salt Lake City," *St. Louis Democrat*, 16 November 1858, reprinted in *New York Times*, 19 November 1858.

¹⁰⁵On New Year's day 1858, Jim Bridger, spinning yarns to Albert Sidney Johnston's officers at Fort Bridger, described twenty-six-year-old Jane to Johnston's aide de camp, First Lieutenant Laurence A. Williams: "You'll s'arch far and long in [New] York City for such a woman as she is." Browne, "The Ward of the Three Guardians," 699.

Delana R. Eckels, McCormick's pre-war mentor in Greencastle, Indiana, as well as at Camp Scott. Eckels held hearings throughout the summer while temporarily appointing three non-Mormons to serve as Henrietta's guardians: McCormick; reporter-lawyer Albert G. Browne Jr., and Peter K. Dotson, a West Virginian who, since 1856, had served as U.S. marshal for Utah after an earlier stint as Brigham Young's business partner in a brewery. Eckels ruled in Henry Polydore's favor, and remanded Henrietta to her guardians' custody. After being lavishly outfitted by this trio, Henrietta left Utah in October 1858 escorted by Eckels, Jane Mayer Richards, Elizabeth Cotton (Eckels's future daughter-in-law), and several other women, including an Indian girl for whom Eckels acted as a foster parent.¹⁰⁶ After causing a minor sensation in Greencastle, Indiana, Eckels's home town, the party reached Lord Napier in Washington, D.C., and Henrietta sailed for England in December 1858. From her father's home in Gloucester, she resumed contact with her two famous paternal cousins in London, Dante Gabriel Rossetti and Christina G. Rossetti, both talented poet-painters and leaders of the Pre-Raphaelite movement. Although Dante was eighteen years Henrietta's senior and Christina sixteen, the relationship was evidently a close one.

Henrietta Polydore left no known account of her adventures in Utah, did not marry, contracted consumption (tuberculosis), made several trans-Atlantic visits to her mother, took up residence with her in Mississippi in 1873, and died there in October 1874 at age twenty. There is no evidence that she ever revisited Utah.

Henrietta Polydore's three American guardians all continued colorful careers elsewhere. Browne has already been discussed. McCormick practiced law in Salt Lake City for a few years, went to Montana Territory during its gold-fever days in the early 1860s, helped found Missoula, and became one of the territory's leading attorneys, entrepreneurs, and legislators. He died in 1889 after being blown off a Fort Owen roof in a freak gale, leaving behind a

¹⁰⁶After seeing Henrietta safely to the East, Jane and her infant son Phineas visited Mayer relatives and Mrs. Polydore in the South where they were trapped by the Civil War. She returned to her husband in Salt Lake City and died there in 1867 at age thirty-six of consumption. "Samuel Whitney Richards, His Wives," 2.

five-year-old namesake who became one of Montana's U.S. senators.¹⁰⁷

Peter K. Dotson continued to serve as Utah's U.S. marshal for about a year while experiencing substantial frustration and hostility, as well as the financial burden of a punishing legal judgement. In 1859 Dotson resigned, took his family to what would become Pueblo, Colorado, acquired a gigantic cattle spread derived from a Mexican land grant along the upper St. Charles River, became a short-line railroad developer, and died in 1898 at age seventy-five as one of the region's most respected citizens.¹⁰⁸

Eckels returned to his Utah bench in the spring of 1859, bringing with him a small group of young Hoosiers. In 1861, after taking part in some sensational legal jousts over territorial and federal jurisdiction and judges' power to use federal troops, Eckels returned to Greencastle, Indiana. Active in local Democratic politics, he sat out the Civil War as an open Southern sympathizer and died at eighty-two in 1888.¹⁰⁹ Heretofore unknown is Eckels's role as the Cincinnati *Enquirer's* "Kenton" during the Utah War, and that of his protege McCormick as "Kenton Jr."¹¹⁰

¹⁰⁷There is no biography of McCormick, although his Montana period is documented in Washington J. McCormick Papers, K. Ross Toole Archives, Mansfield Library, University of Montana, Missoula; and Montana Historical Society, Helena.

¹⁰⁸Peter K. Dotson, Letter to President James Buchanan, 1 August 1859, *Deseret News*, 9 November 1859; A. A. Hayes Jr., "The Cattle Ranches of Colorado," *Harper's Monthly*, November 1879, 877-96; H. H. Bancroft, "Doings of Peter K. Dotson," 1884 interview, holograph notes, Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley; "From Mace's Hole, the Way It Was, To Beulah, the Way It Is," *A Comprehensive History of Beulah, Colorado*, rev. ed. (Colorado Springs: Beulah Historical Society, 2000); "Peter K. Dotson, a Pioneer, Passed Away Last Night Aged Seventy-Five Years," *Pueblo [Colorado] Daily Chieftain*, 7 July 1898.

¹⁰⁹Richard Wiles Jones, Diary, 19 April-30 August 1859, Special Collections, Roy O. West Library, DePauw University, Greencastle, Indiana; Eckels file, compiled by Virginia C. Brann, Local History Department, Putnam County Public Library, Greencastle, Indiana.

¹¹⁰"Kenton," *Putnam [County, Indiana] Republican Banner*, 19 August 1857 includes an editor's note that "Kenton" is a Utah judge. I assume that Eckels chose his name in honor of Simon Kenton, a contemporary of Daniel

Guides, Scouts, and Explorers

Of the army's dozen or so scouts, Jim Bridger had a personal score to settle with Brigham Young. He returned to the charred remains of his trading post in November 1857 as the army's chief guide with the equivalent rank of major. Bridger and his heirs did not cease their eventually successful attempts to obtain compensation for, first, the Mormons' and, then, the U.S. Army's occupation of the fort until well into the 1880s.¹¹¹

Three other Utah War guides were Bridger's fur-trapping colleagues: Jim Baker, Tim Goodale, and Marianna Medina. All three accompanied Captain Marcy on his winter 1857-58 march from Fort Bridger to New Mexico and back to buy new mounts for the Utah Expedition.¹¹²

A less-experienced guide was Benjamin Franklin Ficklin, a tough, practical-joking alumnus of Virginia Military Institute. Ten years earlier as a corporal, he had been left for dead on a Mexican battlefield. During the winter of 1857-58, Johnston assigned him the

Boone, well-known in northern Kentucky where Eckels was born. I infer that McCormick was "Kenton Jr." because of his relationship to Eckels and because of his demonstrated willingness to assume Lemuel Fillmore's responsibilities to the *New York Herald* in the summer of 1858 when Fillmore returned to Kansas.

¹¹¹J. Cecil Alter, *Jim Bridger* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1979), 273-82, 337-41; Fred R. Gowans and Eugene E. Campbell, *Fort Bridger: Island in the Wilderness* (Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University Press, 1975), 159-62.

¹¹²Nolie Mumey, *The Life of Jim Baker, 1818-1898: Trapper, Scout, Guide and Indian Fighter* (Denver, Colo.: World Press, 1931); Goodale spent the summer of 1857 as a guide for W. M. F. Magraw's section of the Pacific Wagon Road project and then for the Utah Expedition's Fifth Infantry as it moved west. Merrill and Wells, "Tim Goodale Comes Home"; Merrill and Wells, "Goodale's Cutoff from Boise Valley to Powder River," *Overland Journal* 14 (Spring 1996): 9-14; Harvey L. Carter, "Tim Goodale," in *The Mountain Men and the Fur Trade of the Far West*, edited by LeRoy R. Hafen, 10 vols. (Glendale, Calif.: Arthur H. Clark, 1969) 7:147-53; Zethyl Gates, *Mariano Medina: Colorado Mountain Man* (Boulder, Colo.: Johnson Publishing, 1981). Medina, whose first and last names had multiple spellings, helped found Loveland, Colorado, where he died in 1878 at age sixty-six.

daunting task of buying Indian ponies and beef cattle from the Flat-head bands in snow-choked Oregon Territory. Ficklin later helped found the Pony Express and served as a Confederate major during the Civil War. He owned Monticello, Thomas Jefferson's Virginia home, engaged in the Texas mail business, and choked fatally on a fishbone in Georgetown, District of Columbia, in 1871.¹¹³

A fellow superintendent with the Pony Express was James E. Bromley, a civilian scout during the Utah War. Bromley stayed in Utah and developed Echo City, a Summit County holding in the Utah War's most famous canyon. He eventually sold it to Brigham Young Jr.¹¹⁴ One of the young Pony Express riders who worked for Ficklin and Bromley after the Utah War was Charles W. Becker, a twenty-three-year-old teamster who had accompanied the army to Camp Scott and been captured by the Nauvoo Legion. He settled in Malheur County, Oregon, and acquired Indian Creek Ranch, a huge cattle spread near Westfall, which today covers 280 square miles with an asking price in 2000 of \$8 million. When he died in 1925 at age ninety-one, Becker was one of the Utah Expedition's last survivors.¹¹⁵

¹¹³Sketches and documents about Ficklin are scattered throughout the records of W. M. F. Magraw's Pacific Wagon Road project, the Army of Utah, the Pony Express, and the Confederate States Army. B. M. Read, "Ben Ficklin, 1849, and the Pony Express," *Virginia Military Institute Alumni Review* 50 (Summer 1973): 13-14; Jay Winik, *April 1865: The Month that Saved America* (New York: HarperCollins, 2001).

¹¹⁴David Hampshire, Martha Sonntag Bradley, and Allen Roberts, *A History of Summit County* (Salt Lake City: Utah State Historical Society and Summit County Commission, 1998), 53, 55-56; unidentified clippings, James E. Bromley file, Daughters of Utah Pioneers, Library, Salt Lake City.

¹¹⁵Marie Pinney, "Charles Becker, Pony Express Rider and Oregon Pioneer," *Oregon Historical Quarterly* 67 (September 1966): 213-56; Wanda Morgan, "The Pony Express Rider and the President," *Signal Mountain* 1 (Fall 1998): 4-9; realtor Eugene B. Wolf, "For Sale: Legendary 'Indian Creek Ranch'. . ."; downloaded December 2000 from <http://www.wolfnw.com/Indiancreek.shtml>. Becker's recollections of his Utah War and Pony Express experiences have been challenged; but interestingly, Cody wrote to "My Dear Old Friend Charlie Becker" on 7 November 1916 while touring in North Carolina with his Wild West Show: "We had a big time at Chicago. But none of the real old Boys of 1857 showed up—I tell you Charlie there are but few left who were on the plains and mountains in the later 50s and



Charles W. Becker (1834-1925), teamster with the Utah Expedition, capture by the Nauvoo Legion, Pony Express rider. This photograph was taken in the early 1920s while he was a rancher in Malheur County, Oregon. Photo courtesy Oregon Historical Society, Portland, #CN 000140.

Two Mormon explorers played an unusual role in early 1858, exploring the White Mountains of what is now central Nevada when Brigham Young ordered them to find an oasis refuge into which the Saints could flee from the Utah Expedition. Later George Washington Bean, a remarkable one-armed Indian interpreter, guided U.S. Army Captain James H. Simpson's exploring expeditions between Camp Floyd and Carson Valley, and remained prominent in Indian affairs until his death in 1897.¹¹⁶ James H. Martineau surveyed and helped open Cache Valley for settlement and died in 1921 at age ninety-three.¹¹⁷

60s. Don't think there are over six or seven of us Old Pony Express riders left." Pinney, "Charles Becker," 246.

¹¹⁶Barbara Beeton, "James Hervey Simpson in the Great Basin," *Montana: The Magazine of Western History* 28 (Winter 1978): 28-43.

¹¹⁷"The James H. Martineau Record," typescript, William R. Palmer Collection, Special Collections, Sherratt Library, Southern Utah State University, Cedar City; Clifford L. Stott, *Search for Sanctuary: Brigham Young and the White Mountain Expedition* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press,

THE SOCIETAL FORCES

In addition to these fascinating personal stories, the Utah War also set in motion a series of economic, geographic, and political influences on Mormonism, Utah, and the American West. Some of these forces ran their course during the nineteenth century, while others are still at work today, although rarely thought of as resulting from this federal-territorial confrontation almost 150 years ago.

Economic Impact

Although Brigham Young did not incinerate northern Utah as he had threatened, the move south was a costly disruption of Mormon society and its economy, a mass evacuation virtually unparalleled in American history. It was doubly disruptive since it came just when spring planting should have been underway. The stress was particularly heavy for the women in these uprooted families; their Relief Society did not resume active operations for another eight years.

Although the consensus among historians is that Utah recouped its economic losses through the surge of U.S. government funds that poured into building, maintaining, and then closing down Camp Floyd over the next three years, the subject still lacks thorough analysis.¹¹⁸ The cost to the federal government is also elusive, despite Congress's well-documented shock at the Buchanan administration's tabulations of multi-million-dollar mule purchases and flour-hauling contracts. Estimates by contemporary commentators and subsequent historians, largely unsupported, have ranged from \$14 million to \$40 million on the federal side. By any measure, the expenditures were mammoth, especially given the Panic of 1857 and simultaneous campaigns against tribes on the plains, in the South-

1984); Noel Carmack, "Running the Line: James Henry Martineau's Surveys in Northern Utah," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 68 (Fall 2000): 292-312.

¹¹⁸Leonard J. Arrington, *Great Basin Kingdom: An Economic History of the Latter-day Saints 1830-1900* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1958), 161-203; Arrington, "Mormon Finance and the Utah War," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 20 (July 1952): 219-38; Thomas G. Alexander and Leonard J. Arrington, "Camp in the Sagebrush: Camp Floyd, Utah, 1858-61," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 34 (Winter 1966): 3-21; Donald R. Moorman with Gene Sessions, *Camp Floyd and the Mormons: The Utah War* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1992).

west, and in the Pacific Northwest. By the time Abraham Lincoln took office in March 1861, the U.S. Treasury was almost empty. Small wonder that still another conspiracy theory explained the Utah War's origins as a proto-Confederate plot to bankrupt the U.S. government.¹¹⁹

Even more persistent has been the argument that the campaign was designed to enrich friends of the administration, principally the large Kansas-based freighting firm of Russell, Majors, and Waddell. True, this firm received multi-million-dollar payments; but its Utah War expenses were so large relative to its revenues, the timing of its reimbursements from the War Department so erratic, and its 1860 establishment of the short-lived Pony Express so costly that the firm's Utah War operations sowed the seeds of its 1862 bankruptcy rather than the financial windfall about which conspiracists so frequently fantasized. One partner, the flamboyant William H. Russell, was indicted for conspiracy to "cheat, defraud, and impoverish the United States" when he induced a distant relative of Secretary of War Floyd to misappropriate \$870,000 in government-held bonds from the Interior Department to forestall disclosure of Floyd's irregular Utah War financing arrangements with Russell. Litigation by financial firms over the collectability of Floyd's Utah War promissory notes (acceptances) continued for decades. Another Russell, Majors, and Waddell partner, the upright Alexander Majors became destitute but was quietly supported until his 1900 death by a grateful former employee, Buffalo Bill Cody.¹²⁰

¹¹⁹MacKinnon, "125 Years of Conspiracy Theories," 219-22; MacKinnon, "The Buchanan Spoils System and the Utah Expedition: Careers of W. M. F. Magraw and John M. Hockaday," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 31 (Spring 1963): 127-50.

¹²⁰Raymond W. and Mary Lund Settle, *War Drums and Wagon Wheels: The Story of Russell, Majors, and Waddell* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1966), 143-55; *Opinion of Hon. Edward Bates, Attorney-General of the United States, on the Validity of the Acceptances Given by John B. Floyd, Secretary of War, to Russell, Majors, and Waddell, Now Held by Peirce and Bacon* (Washington, D.C.: n. pub., 1862) describes efforts of a Boston financial firm to obtain payments. Arguments by Charles A. Perry & Co. and Irwin & Co. to recover damages suffered when Johnston held their trains at Fort Bridger during the winter of 1857-58 continued until 1887. "Venerable Claims" and "Old Mormon War Claims," *Salt Lake Tribune*, 22 and 23 July

If the Utah War led to the collapse of Russell, Majors, and Waddell, it may have, in a sense, inspired the success of the Browning Arms Company of Ogden. Although this firm's genius-founder, John Moses Browning, was only five when the Utah War started, his father, Jonathan Browning, was among the West's premier gunsmiths. In December 1857 Jonathan Browning offered the Nauvoo Legion the design of an ingenious aerial torpedo intended to explode the Utah Expedition's ammunition wagons.¹²¹ Once the company took root during the 1880s under John Moses Browning and his brothers, it designed, manufactured, or licensed virtually every automatic rifle, pistol, or machine gun purchased by the American armed forces through World War II.¹²²

The completion of the transcontinental telegraph line and the exploration and development of new roads—thrusts stimulated by the Utah War—also had a positive impact on Utah's economy. When the conflict started, the telegraph's western terminus was Booneville, Missouri. Time lags during the Utah War of four months or more vividly illustrated for both sides the need for faster communications.

1887.

¹²¹Jonathan Browning, Letter to Daniel H. Wells, 20 December 1857, Thomas Ellerbeck Papers, Nauvoo Legion Papers 1853-64, Yale Collection of Western Americana, Beinecke Library, Yale University, New Haven, Connecticut. No study of the Browning family or the company discusses Jonathan Browning's role in the Utah War. There is no record that Wells responded, although five years before the war he sought scope-equipped, high-velocity rifles from Samuel Colt and, during the Utah War, contemplated the use of such weapons as English longbows and crossbows. Jonathan Browning's offer exemplified a flood of proposals to the War Department at the beginning of the Civil War. Michael P. Musick, "War in an Age of Wonders: Civil War Arms and Equipment," *Prologue: The Journal of the National Archives* 27 (Winter 1995): 348-68.

¹²²John Browning and Curt Gentry, *John M. Browning, American Gunmaker* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1964); Susan Easton Black, "Jonathan Browning, Mormon Gunsmith," *Muzzle Blasts Online* 2 (August/September 1997), downloaded 22 March 1999 from <http://ezines.firelands.net/MuzzleBlastsOnline/Vol2No4/Articles/MBO24-2.htm>; J. M. and M. S. Browning, *A History of Browning Guns from 1831, Including Achievements of John M. Browning, "The Father of Modern Fire Arms"* (Ogden, Utah: Browning Co., 1942).

Brigham Young expressed the belief that the Mountain Meadows Massacre could have been averted had telegraph service to southern Utah been in place in September 1857.¹²³ In the middle of the Utah War, John M. Bernhisel, Utah's Congressional delegate, called on President Buchanan and, after a six-month delay, reported to Brigham Young from Philadelphia: "I did not write you so fully the past winter as I should have done, on account of the apprehensions entertained by me that my communications would never reach you. . . . [Buchanan] seemed greatly annoyed by the Utah difficulties, and on one or two occasions also he expressed a wish that he had Brigham Young here to talk to him for about two hours."¹²⁴ In the spring of 1858, Congress debated but rejected a proposal to build a military wire from the Missouri River to Fort Bridger but private construction forged on nonetheless until, in October 1861, lines being built simultaneously from California and Missouri were joined in Salt Lake City.¹²⁵

One of Johnston's principal preoccupations in Utah was pioneering or improving roads in virtually every direction from Camp Floyd. The benefits included reductions in travel time and transportation costs for military detachments, transcontinental emigrants, and LDS residents alike. For example, in July 1858, Johnston ordered Colonel William Wing Loring and his regiment of U.S. Mounted Riflemen to return to New Mexico Territory by a route east and south from Camp Floyd that became an important route between what is now western Colorado and southern Utah. Earlier as Loring's troops had marched from New Mexico to Camp Scott through what is now Denver's Cherry Creek in early May 1858, they discovered gold.¹²⁶ Thanks to this and closely related strikes, the Pike's Peak gold rush of 1859 followed.

¹²³Remarks of LDS Church President Gordon B. Hinckley, dedication of reconstructed monument, Mountain Meadows, 11 September 1999.

¹²⁴John M. Bernhisel, Letter to Brigham Young, 29 June 1858, Brigham Young Collection, LDS Church Archives.

¹²⁵"Telegraph to Utah," U.S. Senate, 13 April 1858, 35th Congress, 1st session (1857-58), *Congressional Globe* (Washington, D.C.: John C. Rives, 1858), 1559-64.

¹²⁶Loring, a one-armed veteran of the Mexican War and the antebellum U.S. Army's youngest line colonel, later served as a general

Johnston likewise developed a new road between Fort Bridger and Camp Floyd using a Mormon-built toll road through Provo Canyon. This route shortened travel time and bypassed Salt Lake City. In 1858-59, Captain James H. Simpson and George Washington Bean, his Mormon guide, found an alternate route between Camp Floyd and Carson Valley that saved two hundred miles. Both Pony Express riders and California travelers used this short-cut. In summary, I argue that Albert Sidney Johnston's record for directing explorers, surveyors, and road-builders should rank with his command of the Utah Expedition.¹²⁷

Lieutenant Joseph C. Ives's successful 1858 ascent of the Colorado River arguably stimulated Brigham Young's long-standing interest in that route for emigration and shipping, resulting in the Mormon construction of a road to and wharf-warehouse at the river's Call's Landing (Callville), Utah. Of even greater economic impact was the fact that Ives's expedition rediscovered, explored, and sketched the Grand Canyon of the Colorado, an accomplishment from which incalculable benefits subsequently flowed in the form of further exploration, tourism, and hydrology.¹²⁸

officer in the Confederate Army and as a general officer in the Khedive of Egypt's army. He died in New York in 1886. Marcy, *Thirty Years of Army Life*, 263; W. W. Loring, *A Confederate Soldier in Egypt* (New York: Dodd, Mead, 1884); William B. Hesseltine and Hazel C. Wolf, *The Blue and the Gray on the Nile* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1961). Ironically, ten years earlier, discharged troops from the Mexican War's Mormon Battalion had been present at the discovery of gold in Sutter's millrace along California's American River.

¹²⁷LeRoy R. Hafen, "Colonel Loring's Expedition Across Colorado in 1858," *Colorado Magazine* 23 (1946): 49-75; Beeton, "James Hervey Simpson in the Great Basin," 28-43.

¹²⁸David H. Miller, "The Ives Expedition Revisited: A Prussian's Impressions" and his "The Ives Expedition Revisited: Overland into Grand Canyon," *Journal of Arizona History* 13 (Spring and Autumn 1972): 1-25, 177-96; Arthur Woodward, *Feud on the Colorado* (Los Angeles: Westernlore Press, 1955); Melvin T. Smith, "Colorado River Exploration and the Mormon War," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 38 (Summer 1970): 207-23; Milton R. Hunter, "The Mormons and the Colorado River," *American Historical Review* 44 (April 1939): 549-55. Interestingly, Ives's wife was Secretary of War Floyd's niece; during the Civil War, Ives was military aide to Jefferson

Finally, it remains for future historians to probe the intriguing assertion by Elizabeth Kane that some of Brigham Young's economic efforts after the Utah War—ZCMI, the United Order of Enoch, and communal ranches—"sprang from Thomas L. Kane's ideas transmitted by Brigham Young's brain."¹²⁹

Political Legacy

The Utah War began a significant political process which not only irreversibly changed the ratio of Mormons and Gentiles in Utah Territory but also the governmental balance of power. With the simultaneous influx during 1858 of thousands of U.S. troops, their civilian camp followers, a new slate of appointed federal officials, and the publication of the *Valley Tan*, Utah's physical and psychological isolation from national influence began to fade. However, these changes took decades to unfold for a variety of reasons, including Buchanan's fecklessness during 1858-61, the enormous national distraction of the Civil War, Thomas L. Kane's dedicated lobbying and manipulations, and most importantly Brigham Young's iron resolve to keep Utah as a theocracy under his rule. Just as the complex forces that ultimately triggered the active or 1857-58 phase of the Utah War were ten years in the making rather than the result of a single critical incident, the establishment of federal authority which Buchanan had sought so ineptly to impose was not achieved in 1858 but rather evolved through another four decades of conflict and confrontation. One effect was that statehood for Utah was, politically speaking, held hostage until 1896.

At no point was Young's determination clearer than during the eleven dusty hours on 26 June 1858 during which the Utah Expedition marched through Salt Lake City's streets, nearly deserted but ready for the torch. On that fateful day, former Governor Young succeeded in persuading current Governor Alfred Cumming to mail a petition to Buchanan signed by virtually the entire senior leadership of the LDS Church and Nauvoo Legion. This remarkable document, still unpublished, sought to remove from Utah half of Cumming's federally appointed colleagues: Chief Justice Delana R.

Davis.

¹²⁹Quoted in David J. Whittaker and others, *Register to the Thomas L. Kane and Elizabeth W. Kane Collection*, 2 vols. (Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University, 2001), 2:759.

Eckels, Salt Lake City Postmaster Hiram F. Morrell, and Indian Agents Garland Hurt and C. L. Craig.¹³⁰ Thus commenced Young's highly successful effort to split Utah's new federal establishment into two warring camps, a gambit that not only created chaos in both Salt Lake City and Washington, D.C., but also sowed doubt in the nation's capital about who was the real enemy.¹³¹

At the same time, Young launched a companion strategy, probably designed by Kane, to create the impression of a divided Mormon hierarchy, with Young heading a so-called peace faction while struggling mightily to restrain a so-called war party of unnamed LDS leaders. Cumming accepted this notion in toto and passed it on to James L. Orr, Speaker of the U.S. House of Representatives, who reported it breathlessly to Buchanan, who had already heard the story directly from Kane.¹³² By the summer of 1858, Buchanan was

¹³⁰Petition: Citizens of Utah to James Buchanan, 25 June 1858, Thomas L. Kane Papers, Beinecke Library. That the original of this sensitive document is among Kane's papers reflects his intimate role with both Young and Buchanan.

¹³¹Soon aligned on one side were the appointees listed above plus two federal judges who had not yet arrived, Charles Sinclair and John Cradlebaugh, U.S. marshal Peter K. Dotson, and former Utah surveyor-general David H. Burr. The "pro" LDS faction was perceived as including Cumming, Indian Superintendent Jacob Forney, and U.S. Attorney for Utah Alexander Wilson, who arrived in November 1858. The clearest exposition of this split is the letter of Jacob Forney, Utah Superintendent of Indian Affairs, 3 December 1858, to U.S. Attorney General Jeremiah S. Black, photocopy in my possession.

¹³²William Preston Johnston, *Life of General Albert Sidney Johnston*, 221-23; Thomas L. Kane, Letter to President James Buchanan, 15 March 1858, Kane Family Collection, Vault Mss 792, Box 14, Lee Library. Lafayette Shaw (Fay) Worthen, a young resident of Springfield, Illinois, son of the Illinois state geologist, traveled east with Kane after spending the winter of 1857-58 in Salt Lake City with Kimball relatives. Based on the newspaper coverage that followed in Kane's and Worthen's wake, they apparently spread word of the war-peace division at every stop. For example, see "Interesting Particulars from Great Salt Lake City," *St. Louis Republican*, 16 June 1858, reprinted in *New York Times*, 19 June 1858, 1; "From Washington," *Cincinnati Daily Enquirer*, 22 June 1858, 2; James L. Orr, Cover letter to President James Buchanan, 21 June 1858 enclosing Alfred

most anxious to announce the accomplishment of his Utah goals, to terminate hostilities, and to substantially reduce the federal funds pouring into the "Mormon problem." Viewing Brigham Young as an unofficial ally of sorts in restoring peace permitted Buchanan to focus on less expensive issues outside of Utah.

Meanwhile, virtually on the eve of the Utah Expedition's march through Salt Lake City, Nauvoo Legion commanders who were also bishops in Provo, Springville, Manti, and Nephi took measures to cache nearly 1,400 pounds of gunpowder, 3,500 pounds of lead, and 75,000 percussion caps as a contingency against future conflicts.¹³³ Mormons also courted and coopted some federal and military officers while launching a campaign of character assassination, complete with notarized affidavits, against others.¹³⁴ Capitalizing on economic criticism of Buchanan in the East, Young lobbied successfully to divert substantial segments of Johnston's command from Utah even before Camp Floyd had been finished. During July 1858, the Regiment of Mounted Riflemen returned to New Mexico, Company A of U.S. Engineers was ordered back to West Point, New York; the Sixth Infantry marched from Fort Bridger to California rather than

Cumming, Letter to Orr, 12 May 1858, Buchanan Papers; "Utah," editorial, *Commercial Advertiser* (Buffalo, N.Y.), 25 June 1858, 2.

¹³³See commanders' receipts, 21 June 1858 and Thomas Ellerbeck (Nauvoo Legion Chief of Ordinance), Provo, Letter to "Dear Sir," 1 July 1858, Thomas Ellerbeck Papers, Yale Collection of Western Americana, Beinecke Library.

¹³⁴Judge Delana R. Eckels wrote a compromising letter about his efforts to procure a "bed partner" for him to Second Lieutenant Clarence E. Bennett, Tenth U.S. Infantry, 12 August 1858, Yale Collection of Western Americana, Beinecke Library, which was found on the road to Camp Floyd, copied, and sent to Secretary of State Lewis Cass with affidavits of authenticity to support a plea for Eckels's removal. Less than a week after U.S. Attorney Alexander Wilson, a financially strapped heavy drinker, arrived in Salt Lake City, Young instructed Hosea Stout to hire him "to attend to all law suits that may come up against him or the Church before the Dist[ri]ct Courts; so far as it could be done without infringing upon the business of his office as U.S. Attorney." Entry for 10 November 1858, Historian's Office Journal, LDS Archives. On 18 August 1859, Wilson quashed treason indictments returned against Young and dozens of other LDS leaders during the winter of 1857-58.

to Camp Floyd; and Barnard E. Bee's volunteer battalion returned from Camp Floyd to Fort Leavenworth for discharge. Young also made an audacious but unsuccessful 1858 effort to wrest control of the newly established Fort Bridger military reservation from the army and repeatedly but unsuccessfully petitioned Congress for statehood, which would have relieved Utah of what it viewed as the yoke of federal colonialism.

Thomas L. Kane, who had returned to Philadelphia in June 1858, ignored his severe health problems to actively advise Young, visit the White House, and use his connections to place articles and editorials in key newspapers. During Reconstruction Young urged Utah's territorial delegate to get Cumming, then in Georgia, to lobby President Andrew Johnson on Utah's behalf.¹³⁵

If, as Clausewitz asserted, war is politics by different means, then the Utah War switched from a conventional military campaign to an unarmed, long-term political struggle on 26 June 1858, the very day on which most historians date its completion.

If one doubts the lingering political effects of the Utah War today, consider the embarrassing spectacle during the summer of 1996 when U.S. President Bill Clinton chose to announce the creation of Grand Staircase-Escalante National Monument from Arizona, rather than Utah, because of anti-federal hostility in Utah's three southernmost counties. Residents of Kane County, named for Brigham Young's ally, complained to a *New York Times* reporter that Clinton's action was "Johnston's Army" and "1858 all over again." Utah Congressman Chris Cannon made the link explicit in his 1996 election campaign video; and historian Arthur Gomez has described

¹³⁵Brigham Young, Letter to Horace S. Eldredge, 20 October 1858, Brigham Young Collection. Young instructed: "Tell Brothers Geo. Q. Cannon, and T. B. H. Stenhouse to let the pen flow freely where they have a chance to gain admission into the columns of newspapers, if it is only short paragraphs, and let them appear in a great many different papers distant from each other. In fact short sketches are doubtless the best, but brother Geo. Q. will understand all about these matters, as he will be directed by Col. Thomas L. Kane, and will, we trust, give sufficient propelling power to that mighty engine, the press, which has been so successful in the manufacture of public opinion against us." See also Brigham Young, Letter to William H. Hooper, 8 February 1866, Brigham Young Collection.

the incident as a “shoot-out’ between state and federal leaders” while speaking of “battlelines . . . in the breathtakingly scenic canyon country of southern Utah and northern Arizona.” Today’s so-called Sagebrush Rebellion against federal authority in the West was not created by the Utah War, but its political and emotional antecedents are a special legacy of that conflict’s anti-government feeling.¹³⁶

Geographic Consequences

Notwithstanding Brigham Young’s sustained and often successful resistance against the federal government, not even he could prevent the punishing indignity of seeing Utah lose roughly 60 percent of its territory in six tranches during the 1860s to what became the territories and later states of Nevada, Nebraska, Colorado, and Wyoming. Furthermore, Congress made additional attempts, often annually, to dismember Utah as a political entity well into the 1880s.¹³⁷

In 1858 Tsar Alexander II contemplated matters of geography as he faced the possibility of a wholesale, armed Mormon exodus from Utah to Alaska. He consequently decided to sell Russian possessions in North America to the United States rather than see it seized without compensation by Brigham Young. After a delay largely occasioned by the Civil War, the sale of Alaska was completed in 1867.¹³⁸ Similar concerns in the British foreign ministry about

¹³⁶Timothy Egan, “Clinton Enters Utah Battle over Fate of Wilderness Area,” *New York Times*, 17 September 1996, A-12; James Brooke, “New Reserve Stirs Animosity in Utah,” *New York Times*, 13 October 1996, Y-9; Dan Harrie, “Cannon Ad Revives U.S. ‘War’ on Utah,” *Salt Lake Tribune*, 3 October 1996; Arthur Gomez, “Public Lands and Public Sentiment: A Comparative Look at National Parks,” in *Land in the American West; Private Claims and the Common Good*, edited by William G. Robins and James C. Foster (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2000), 149, 159; Katharine Biele, “Utah’s War Against Uncle Sam,” *Christian Science Monitor*, 26 March 1998; and William R. Lindley, “From Oregon’s Range War to Nevada’s Sagebrush Rebellion,” *Journal of the West* 38 (January 1999): 56-61.

¹³⁷MacKinnon, “Like Splitting a Man Up His Backbone.”

¹³⁸Gene A. Sessions and Stephen W. Stathis, “The Mormon Invasion of Russian America: Dynamics of a Potent Myth,” *Utah Historical Quarterly* 45 (Winter 1977): 22-35; Anatole Mazour, “The Prelude to Russia’s Departure from America,” *Pacific Historical Review* 10 (1941): 311-19; Frank

Mormon interest in Vancouver Island led to the removal of that potential LDS haven from the administration of the Hudson's Bay Company and the establishment of British Columbia as a crown colony in 1858.¹³⁹

As a final geographic consequence of the Utah War, Brigham Young's 1857 pull-back from the Mormon outposts of San Bernardino, Las Vegas, and Carson Valley meant that they never again became predominantly LDS communities, while the substantial but long-forgotten Mormon character of early San Francisco was greatly diminished.

CONCLUSION

The origins and prosecution of the Utah War have too often been neglected, and so this article has focused on the war's post-1858 impact in hopes of reviving not only an awareness of the campaign itself but also of its colorful, far-reaching, and complex legacy. In 1866 Major General Randolph B. Marcy, Civil War aide to his son-in-law, Major General George B. McClellan, published an account of his epic 1857-58 winter march from Camp Scott to New Mexico to buy new mounts for the Utah Expedition. Marcy concluded offhandedly, "The sequel of the Mormon expedition is well known to the public."¹⁴⁰ Perhaps this statement was accurate just after the Civil War, but not now. And we are all the poorer for our collective loss.

Golder, "The Purchase of Alaska," *American Historical Review* 25 (1920): 411-25; Russian Minister to Washington [Edward de Stoeckl], Dispatch No. 87 to Russian Minister of Foreign Affairs [Alexander M. Gorchakov] (with tsar's annotation), 20 November/2 December 1857, Annex No. 5 to Enclosure No. 2 to Dispatch No. 2115 dated 21 December 1936, from the U.S. Embassy, Moscow, U.S. State Department, National Archives; photocopy and transcribed translation in my possession.

¹³⁹Richard Bennett and Arran Jewsbury, "The Lion and the Emperor: The Mormons, the Hudson's Bay Company, and Vancouver Island, 1846-1858," *BC Studies* 128 (Winter 2000-2001): 37-62.

¹⁴⁰Marcy, *Thirty Years of Army Life*, 275.

REVIEWS

David Persuitte, *Joseph Smith and the Origins of The Book of Mormon*. Jefferson, North Carolina: McFarland & Company, 2000. ix, 325 pp. Appendices, notes, bibliography, index. \$29.95. paper. ISBN 0-7864-0826-X

Reviewed by Lawrence Foster

Those interested in early Mormon history might easily conclude, with a slight variation on Ecclesiastes 12:12, "Of the making of books on the origin of the Book of Mormon there is no end." Why, one might well wonder, should anyone bother to write or read yet another such book? Weren't all the basic arguments put forward almost as soon as the Book of Mormon itself was first published? Believing Mormons, on the one hand, have been convinced that the book was based on Joseph Smith's discovery and translation, "by the gift and power of God," of ancient records telling the history and struggles of Hebrew-descended ancestors of the American Indians. Most non-Mormons, on the other hand, have insisted that the book must have been a hoax, fabricated by Joseph himself and passed off on his gullible followers as part of an effort to gain recognition and advance his own personal agenda. Has anyone over the years really gotten beyond these two basic approaches to the origin of the Book of Mormon?

Although this second enlarged edition of *Joseph Smith and the Origins of The Book of Mormon* does follow the basic outlines of the prevalent non-Mormon argument that the Book of Mormon was a self-conscious product of Joseph Smith's remarkable mind, David Persuitte's carefully researched and thoughtfully presented treatment of this much-debated topic does, I think, suggest new perspectives that deserve the attention of Mormons and non-Mormons alike.

Persuitte's goal is to present a comprehensive and plausible naturalistic argument about how Joseph could have derived and developed the ideas found in the Book of Mormon from his nineteenth-century American experiences. Unlike some writers, Persuitte is generally respectful of Joseph Smith's creative genius, even while attempting a step-by-step explanation of how the Mormon prophet might have created this book without supernatural intervention. He particularly stresses how Joseph may have drawn upon and substantially modified the ideas in Ethan Smith's *View of the Hebrews*, two editions of which were published in 1823 and 1825 in Poultney, Vermont, the home town of Oliver Cowdery, to whom Joseph Smith dictated most of the Book of Mormon after 1827.

Part 1 contains eight chapters that seek to reconstruct and analyze the historical circumstances associated with the coming forth of the Book of Mormon, including Joseph's personality and concerns, his early visionary

experiences, his pre-Book of Mormon activities, his 1826 trial for alleged "money-digging" ("treasure hunting"), the discovery of the Book of Mormon plates, the loss of the first 116 manuscript pages, Joseph's more explicitly religious refocusing of the final text, and its 1830 publication as the Book of Mormon. In dealing with each topic, Persuitte judiciously assesses existing Mormon and non-Mormon arguments, in addition to developing his own analysis of how the Book of Mormon might actually have been produced.

These excerpts suggest the tone and character of Persuitte's analysis throughout:

Did Joseph Smith have the *ability* to author *The Book of Mormon*? Many writers, Mormon and non-Mormon alike, have maintained that he did not. These writers, however, have usually held these beliefs in order to advance their own beliefs or theories about the origin of Joseph Smith's latter-day "revelation." Because of that, their judgment about Joseph Smith's competence in this regard is open to question. In any case, it is presumptuous to denigrate the intellectual abilities of any individual. History is filled with those who, despite /13/ inauspicious origins, made names for themselves in the field of literature. (11, 13)

In creating *The Book of Mormon*, Joseph used his fertile imagination to reshape, meld together, and project allegorically into ancient America an array of literary and social material that was part of his own early American environment. (84)

Part 2 of Persuitte's book, comprising chapters 9-11, argues from evidence of historical anachronisms that the Book of Mormon was clearly a nineteenth-century American production, most heavily influenced by Ethan Smith's *View of the Hebrews*. Persuitte concludes: "Ethan Smith's theory of what happened to the ancestors of the Indians, with his religious ideas about the duty of the American people toward the Indians, not only provided Joseph with that framework, it also provided him with the 'inspiration' to produce *The Book of Mormon*" (134).

In Part 3, comprising chapters 12-19, Persuitte compares and contrasts the Book of Mormon with the *View of the Hebrews*. He compares often striking similarities in how both books handle topics such as claims about the Hebrew origin of the American Indians, prophecies about the religious future of the American Indians, the division of the early inhabitants into "good" and "bad" groups, their wars and backslidings, alleged pre-Columbian knowledge about Jesus, and the breakdown of the New World civilizations.

These chapters present numerous and striking quotation-by-quotation comparisons, many of them in parallel columns, suggesting how Joseph Smith's Book of Mormon may have repeatedly drawn upon, as well as deviated from, Ethan Smith's *View of the Hebrews*. A brief review cannot effectively cover almost a hundred pages of closely argued analysis, but I have difficulty believing that anyone who approaches Persuitte's arguments with a willingness to consider them seriously can help being convinced that

there are at least some striking relationships between the arguments and evidence advanced in the *View of the Hebrews* and the Book of Mormon.

In the two chapters comprising Part 4 and a brief epilogue, Persuitte discusses the Book of Mormon's possible influence on two controversial issues: Mormon policies toward the membership of blacks and Joseph Smith's introduction of polygamy. These chapters, regrettably, are not particularly detailed or original.

Four substantial appendices deal with the "Wood Scrape" affair, events occurring about 1800 that had possible parallels to later Mormon development; how the evidence of modern archaeology bears on the book's factually assessable assertions; the Spaulding theory, which Persuitte largely discounts; and the implications of the findings about the origin of the Book of Abraham and how it may be relevant for understanding the Book of Mormon.

Assessments of the quality of Persuitte's arguments will likely vary widely, depending on prior reader assumptions. Committed Latter-day Saints are likely to find the book's arguments disturbing, unconvincing, and offensive, chiefly because the book presents a carefully argued and relentlessly developed criticism of a fundamental article of Mormon faith—the historicity of the Book of Mormon. Thoughtful non-Mormons, ironically, may be challenged by this book to appreciate Joseph Smith—not as a person diminished in stature, but rather as a far more complex, conflicted, and believable human being than they could ever have imagined before. And Mormons who left the faith because they rejected the traditional all-or-nothing approach to Book of Mormon historicity may well find in Persuitte's analysis insights that could lead them toward a renewed, albeit still highly heterodox, appreciation of their earlier Mormon faith.

As a sympathetic non-Mormon scholar who has spent more than thirty years studying Joseph Smith and early Mormon history, my own reactions to Persuitte's book are complex and ambivalent. I cannot help being impressed by Persuitte's accomplishment and his achievement in moving beyond many monocausal treatments. Yet I also have both minor and major reservations about Persuitte's book.

Among my minor reservations is Persuitte's annoying stylistic propensity of placing in quotation marks terms that he does not personally take at face value. While he commendably avoids using loaded language, his repeated references to the Mormon "prophet's" "revelations" and "translations," and so on, are stylistically obtrusive and tedious.

Considerably more disturbing is Persuitte's too-limited acknowledgment of the pioneering analytical work of the great Mormon historian B. H. Roberts that resulted in Roberts's conclusion that the similarities between the Book of Mormon and the 1825 edition of *View of the Hebrews* were too substantial to have been coincidental. Although Persuitte has gone far beyond Roberts's pathbreaking analysis, now published in *Studies of the Book of Mormon*, edited by Brigham D. Madsen, I believe that Roberts's work should have been acknowledged earlier than pages 104-5 and 108.

My most substantial reservation about Persuitte's study relates to his assumption that Joseph Smith was a self-conscious author, essentially using the normal processes of any historical novelist. Such rationalistic and literary approaches may well be an advance on the idea that Joseph Smith was a self-conscious fraud and con man. Ultimately, however, Persuitte's reduction of the Mormon prophet's motives to those of an aspiring author produces a curiously flat and ultimately unsatisfying analysis. I would have preferred a more psychologically complex approach to Joseph Smith's authorial motivation.

In the final analysis, Persuitte's study fails to truly comprehend the intense and conflicted prophetic drive and search for true religious authority that, I believe, lay at the heart of Joseph Smith's religious genius. Persuitte has gone a long way toward developing a naturalistic explanation of virtually all disputed points regarding the specific external sources upon which the Mormon prophet may have drawn for his understanding of pre-Columbian life in the New World. Such a relentlessly rationalistic analysis alone, however, cannot fully account for the development of Joseph Smith's extraordinary sense of religious mission, which was reflected so strongly in the Book of Mormon.

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Roger Robin Ekins. *Defending Zion: George Q. Cannon and the California Mormon Newspaper Wars of 1856-1857*. Vol. 5 in KINGDOM IN THE WEST: THE MORMONS AND THE AMERICAN FRONTIER. Spokane, Wash.: Arthur H. Clark Company, 2002. 463 pp. Photographs, notes, bibliography, appendix, index. ISBN 0-87062-321-4

Reviewed by Sherilyn Cox Bennion

This work tells the lively story of George Q. Cannon's two years as editor of the *Western Standard* in San Francisco. Roger Robin Ekins, chair of the Honors Program and teacher of literature, writing, and the history of ideas at Butte College in Oroville, California, uses editorials and articles from the *Standard* and its adversary publications in San Francisco, Sacramento, and Los Angeles to chronicle the "newspaper wars" of his title.

Ekins also includes correspondence between Cannon and various Church authorities, particularly Brigham Young, whose chatty letters provide a nice bonus to the heart of the book—excerpts from the newspapers. These excerpts graphically demonstrate the attitudes that the Church and Cannon, as its apologist, had to confront and the arguments that they

presented in defense of Mormonism. The newspaper exchanges are introduced, connected, and illuminated by Ekins's commentary, based on extensive research, which clarifies the issues involved.

Fresh from a highly successful mission to Hawaii, the twenty-eight-year-old Cannon went to California with a two-fold assignment from Brigham Young: to publish the Book of Mormon in Hawaiian and to start a newspaper, one of four that the Church established outside Utah between 1853 and 1857. Earlier he had obtained some journalistic experience while assisting his uncle, John Taylor, with publication of newspapers in Nauvoo, but his San Francisco duties went far beyond the largely typographical training he had received there. In his journal he recorded a word play on his name that both friends and foes adapted to their various purposes: "Bro. Brigham told me to practice writing as much as I possibly could. Bro. Jedediah [M. Grant] told me to let them know I was a Cannon; to roar" (35).

Cannon's roaring through the weekly *Western Standard* began with publication of its prospectus in January 1856, after the initial 2,000-copy press run of the Book of Mormon in Hawaiian had been completed. The *Western Standard*, he said, would be devoted "to the interests of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints—to be an exponent of its doctrines, and a medium through which the public can derive correct information in relation to its objects and progress." It also would "contain items of general intelligence and the current news of the day, both foreign and domestic" (37). This secondary purpose lies outside the scope of Ekins's book.

Eleven chapters treat themes that preoccupied Cannon and his opponents between February 1856, when the first issue appeared, and November 1857, month of the paper's demise. Other chapters introduce the editor and the paper, feature his parting editorials and follow his later career. An appendix provides information about the ten newspapers Cannon quoted most frequently.

The thematic chapters examine Sam Brannan and the San Francisco vigilantes, general criticisms of the "Mormons" (Cannon always used the quotation marks), the case of apostate John Hyde, Lamanites and Danites, polygamy, the Mormon Reformation, theocracy in Deseret, Judge W. W. Drummond and other federal officials in Deseret, the assassination of Parley P. Pratt, the approach of the Utah War, and the Mountain Meadows Massacre.

While students of Mormon history will find most of these topics familiar, those who have not had the pleasure of dipping into the pages of the nineteenth-century press may be surprised at the level of vituperation directed at the Church and its members. This was an era when editors attracted readers with flowery phrases and fiery invective. Ideals of objective journalism lay far in the future, and editors attacked religious groups, politicians, suffragists and other individuals and movements with equal abandon. While Cannon mostly used more moderate language than the Church's detractors, he lived up to the paper's motto, "To Correct Mis-Representation We Adopt Self-Representation," and he sometimes overlooked

or denied kernels of truth in their charges. Six weeks after the massacre at Mountain Meadows, for example, he maintained the innocence of the Mormons and two weeks after that called to task those who would "heap upon them the odium of every such deed" even though "they may be as innocent as angels" (381).

Injudicious statements by Church leaders, particularly during the Reformation of 1856-57, caused problems for Cannon when adversaries used them as evidence of Mormon extremism. Cannon ignored such speeches, instead printing letters that referred to the movement and its results in glowing terms, like one from Apostle Wilford Woodruff expressing his belief that "the fire of a universal reformation in this Territory has been lit and will continue to burn, until a permanent foundation for good works has been laid in our midst" and praising the "pointed, Godlike sermons" flowing from Brigham Young and his counselors (220).

On another topic of concern, the *Western Standard* published a letter from Young that urged people "to treat Indians as they themselves would like to be treated, . . . to make allowances for their ignorance, habits of life, traditions, and instead of treating them like dogs and wolves, learn to treat them kindly, and like human beings" (144). This position echoed Cannon's sentiments; his editorials urged understanding and compassion for the Indians.

Ekins's chapter "'The Kingdom that Daniel Saw': Autocracy, Theocracy, and Theo-Democracy in Deseret" serves a particularly useful purpose by demonstrating that, while perceived violence and intolerance and, especially, polygamy occupied the forefront of public paranoia, the perception of the Mormons' theocratic political order as a threat to American democratic ideals lay at the root of the continuing conflict. In March 1857 the *San Francisco Weekly Chronicle* found reason to refuse "such a blot as a Mormon State upon our flag . . . in the fact that to admit Utah with its system of priesthood, which virtually abolishes all civil power, and constitutes the whole government an all-ruling hierarchy" would establish a religion and thus violate the federal Constitution (259). Cannon answered that Utah's system, far from abolishing civil power, enhanced its efficiency and that in admitting Utah Congress would not be recognizing its system of belief and thus establishing religion but rather would be enforcing the Constitutional guarantee of the free exercise of religion (261).

As 1857 progressed, it became increasingly clear that federal action threatened; and in response to the mobilizing of the Utah Expedition, Brigham Young called California Saints, including Cannon, back to Utah. He published the final issue of the *Western Standard* on 6 November. The *Western Standard* had always attracted more subscribers in Utah than in California; but if it had changed few minds, it had successfully articulated Church positions and perhaps bolstered the faith of Mormon readers. More importantly, as Ekins points out, it had honed the skills and convictions of George Q. Cannon, who became a most influential spokesman for the Church.

Ekins summarizes:

The pages of the *Western Standard* reveal that George Q. Cannon was a strong-willed, sometimes acerbic, even occasionally petulant man who showed no mercy to his many journalistic opponents. . . . That Cannon's most effective weapons in the California Mormon newspaper wars of 1856 and 1857 were his words no one can doubt. While he occasionally stooped to argument *ad hominem* himself, for the most part he appealed to reason, demanding that his opponents produce facts rather than mere accusation, evidence as opposed to convenient rhetoric. As he proved in California, this fearless young journalist was the best and most effective weapon the Mormons had to defend their controversial American religion. (404-5)

Cannon is justly recognized today as an important figure in the Church, in politics and in business. This work not only offers ample evidence of his less well documented talent as an editor—"one of the most humorous, irascible, and brilliant . . . of his day" (424)—but also illuminates the issues he confronted and the social climate during a pivotal period in Church history.

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Will Bagley. *Blood of the Prophets: Brigham Young and the Massacre at Mountain Meadows*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2002. xxiv + 493 pp. 5 maps, illustrations, notes, bibliography. Cloth: \$39.95; ISBN 0-8061-3426-7

Reviewed by Todd Compton

I am not an authority on the Mountain Meadows Massacre, and I have not read all the primary documents on this tragedy. I am working on a biography of Jacob Hamblin, so I have been researching southern Utah history, but as Hamblin was not present at the massacre, it is not a primary focus in my research.

Nevertheless, the Mountain Meadows Massacre is one of the most significant events in southern Utah and in Mormon history; it was an authentically tragic event, bringing out the worst in good people. It is fascinating and horrifying. I read through some of the Lee trial testimony at the Huntington Library while preparing to write this review; and even though I'd read Juanita Brooks and Will Bagley and had lived with my knowledge of the massacre since I was a teenager, my reaction was still one of shock. It is hard to believe that Mormons could have done this. Following orders from their military/ecclesiastical superiors, they lied to, then slaughtered, unarmed, defenseless men, women, teens, and older children.

Bagley's book is the first major scholarly treatment of the massacre since Juanita Brooks published her classic *The Mountain Meadows Massacre* a half

century ago, in 1950 (Palo Alto, Calif.: Stanford University Press), a book which some regard as the beginning of the genre of revisionist New Mormon History. Nevertheless, a half century of more primary documents, secondary publications, and increasingly sophisticated archives makes new publication on the massacre desirable. For the historian, the Mountain Meadows Massacre presents an enormous challenge; and as Brooks wrote, probably no treatment of the subject will ever be definitive. In history, evidence is always contradictory and haphazard; we would like many full diaries and contemporary records recording any major event. If an event is politically or religiously controversial, the tendency is for both sides to bend the evidence, so we would like an equal number of sources from each side, and a wealth of entirely unbiased eyewitness observers. In Mormon history, this kind of conflict in biased evidence is commonplace, with lurid anti-Mormon sources contradicting idealized pro-Mormon sources. The responsible historian must be skeptical of both extremes, and try to support the truth from (usually limited) non-biased evidence, and sources that seem less emotional, pro and con.

Serious wrongdoing adds another layer of difficulty, for the wrongdoer may "bend" the truth (or lie outright) to exculpate him/herself and cast the "real" blame on others. Rob Briggs is preparing a study of the Mountain Meadows Massacre in which he analyzes the affidavits and court testimony from this point of view.¹

The truth is: we have no first-hand, reasonably contemporary account of the Mountain Meadows Massacre—no known diaries, no contemporary newspaper accounts. (The *Deseret News* did not send a reporter to the massacre site.) All the eyewitness evidence is retrospective. In addition, all of the adults at the massacre who later left affidavits or court testimony concerning the massacre were participants, and therefore their testimonies are strikingly exculpatory; the witnesses generally portray themselves as opposed to the massacre, and engaging in it reluctantly. In other affidavits they are not portrayed as reluctant or opposed to the massacre at all.

So the evidence for the Mountain Meadows Massacre is a hall of mirrors. The problem is, when everybody is lying, who do you believe? How can you reach any certainty on what actually happened? The best you can do is analyze the evidence and strive for probability. Overarching this whole problem is the fact that this is part of Mormon history—partisan religious history. We have to sort our way through extreme anti-Mormon views of the massacre and Mormon views (many years of denials, distortions, and stonewalling). In addition, the LDS Archives has a tradition of keeping sensitive documents restricted; the institutional church denied Juanita Brooks key Mountain Meadows documents, and apparently has done the same with Bagley.

¹See Briggs' review of Bagley's book, "Wrestling Brigham," *Sunstone*, December 2002, 62-65.

Bagley, one of the premier historians, specializing in Mormons in Western history and currently researching the overland trail, has waded into this morass. He takes a negative view of Mormon involvement in the Mountain Meadows Massacre (not surprising, considering what Mormons did), especially focusing on their leaders and on the Mormon ideology of blood vengeance. The result is a great book: colorfully written, grimly factual, passionately partisan. Yet the price of taking one side of the argument is that this is not the final statement on the massacre; it is more like an closing argument—superbly done, well-documented, skillfully argued. And because of this book, there will be an ongoing, healthy scholarly dialogue about the massacre; Bagley deserves great credit for restoring that dialogue, some fifty years after Juanita Brooks wrote her book.²

One thing I like about *Blood of the Prophets* is that it is the victims' book. Bagley sympathizes intensely with those who were murdered at the meadows and with the children survivors. One of the outstanding revisionist contributions of this book is that he uses evidence from those children survivors. (This evidence is imperfect; it is retrospective, and derives from the memories of very young children; nevertheless, all evidence is imperfect, and this data should be taken seriously, as Bagley does.) As a historian of the overland trail, he gives a brilliant portrayal of the Fancher party as a typical group of overland travellers moving west; far from the paragons of evil as they are portrayed in some defensive Mormon sources (poisoning wells, ravishing Mormon women, bragging about killing Joseph Smith), Bagley offers the more reasonable story that they were decent, normal Americans trying to make the difficult journey to the West and, in general, trying to avoid trouble with the Mormons and Native Americans.

Nevertheless, as is typical of all history, many pieces of evidence that Bagley adduces can be interpreted in various ways. For instance, one of the child survivors, five-year-old Rebecca Dunlap, identified Jacob Hamblin as a participant in the massacre (148). However, it is well established that Hamblin was not there,³ so she clearly made a mistake. When Dunlap

²One small caveat: In general this book is superbly researched and documented. But occasionally Bagley cites a secondary source when a primary source would have been possible. The more important the event, the more important it is to stay as close to primary sources as possible. On p. 132, Bagley reports that Charles Adams quotes Dame as saying, "My orders are that the emigrants *must* be done away with." An important statement, but the footnote is to the secondary Brooks. Brooks, in turn, is reporting on an apparent oral tradition. On p. 135 note 76, Bagley reports an interview between Van Vliet and Brigham Young; the citation is Bancroft's *History of Utah*. When I looked up Bancroft, it turned out he was citing Wilford Woodruff's journal. It would have strengthened Bagley's case if he had let the reader know that Bancroft was working from a more primary source.

³He married his third wife in Salt Lake City on 17 September 1857.

identified Albert, Jacob's adopted Native American boy, as the killer of her two sisters, could she have made a similar mistake? Keep in mind that Dunlap did not know any Mormons or local Native Americans when the massacre took place. Then she and her two younger sisters stayed at the Hamblin home before they were taken back to Arkansas, so she would have known the Hamblin family, including Albert, best of anyone. Did she accuse those whom she knew? The identification of Jacob Hamblin makes that a possibility, and also makes it possible that she incorrectly linked Albert to the killings. On the other hand, one could argue, as Bagley does, that Dunlap mistook one of Jacob Hamblin's brothers for Hamblin and that she was right about Albert.

Sometimes Bagley takes one interpretation vigorously, rather than allowing other interpretations made possible by the complexity of the evidence. A good historian often does take one interpretation strong-mindedly; nevertheless, given the evidential problems in the Mountain Meadows Massacre story, giving those other possibilities their full due would be valuable.

Often scholarly judgments are a matter of degree. For instance, Bagley rightly rejects the melodramatic Mormon portrayal of the Fancher party as absolute villains. Nevertheless, there were tensions between the Fancher party and the Mormons as the group traveled through Utah that have been documented and which Bagley notes. The group was varied; there were undoubtedly effective older leaders, and men with less judgment. A Missourian joined the group in Beaver (111). A number of disaffected Mormons trying to get out of Utah joined the party (104). A "Dutchman" in the group had been verbally abusive with Mormon leaders in Provo and Nephi (111). This vocal minority, mixed with the homespun family men who made up most of the party, might have spoken too freely; given the post-Reformation, Utah war climate, this minority might have had an impact. But to what extent? Not enough to merit a massacre, certainly, but it is possible that they might have contributed to the problem (Brooks, *Mountain Meadows*, 40-50).

Bagley's intense sympathy with the victims causes him to have a complete lack of sympathy for the Mormons present at the massacre—an understandable reaction. Yet one thing I missed in this book is a humanization and individualization of the Mormons who carried out the massacre, who felt they were following orders. (And in Bagley's view, Brigham Young ordered the massacre, so in a way, those who carried out the massacre in southern Utah would have been victims of Young.) Before reading this book, I'd read Juanita Brooks's biography of her grandfather, *On the Ragged Edge: The Life and Times of Dudley Leavitt* (Salt Lake City: Utah State Historical Society, 1958) and came away from it admiring Leavitt enormously. Yet he was there at the massacre. How could a decent, authentically good person be involved? Bagley's book turns its emphasis elsewhere. I would like such characters as Dudley Leavitt, Nephi Johnson, Ira Hatch, Sam Knight, Ira Allen, John Higbee, to have been looked at a little more deeply, more empathically. Bagley has an appendix listing the victims of the

massacre; an appendix of all known Mormons and Native Americans involved in the massacre would have been equally valuable.

Bagley tends to view the massacre as a result of Mormon ideology and vengeance. Yet while this component was certainly present in the massacre, many other elements were factors also. The massacre occurred during the Utah War; how does it compare to other war massacres in the American West and elsewhere? Bagley, whose interests in the western history extend far beyond Utah, oddly does not look at analyses of comparable violence in western history. Yet this massacre occurred in the West, and it is difficult to see it happening anywhere but in a frontier setting. I also wonder how this massacre compares to more standard massacres in the American West, massacres of Native Americans. Because of Bagley's "Mormon ideology" focus, he does not explore these questions. Yet, as Juanita Brooks observed in her *Mountain Meadows Massacre*, this massacre "grew out of a complex chain of circumstances" (223). She concludes that the massacre may finally be regarded as "a classic study in mob psychology or the effects of war hysteria" (218). The very placing of the massacre—so far away from cities on a popular emigrant trail—would lead one to interpret it (partially at least) as a frontier event, not just an idiosyncratic Mormon event.

The central thesis of Bagley's book, that Brigham Young ordered the Mountain Meadows Massacre, is, Bagley admits, based on circumstantial evidence. Nevertheless, partially because of new evidence from the Dimick Huntington journal that reports Brigham Young "giving" the stock of non-Mormon emigrant companies to a council of Native Americans, Bagley argues his point strongly. The book on the massacre presently being written by three historians employed by the LDS Church—Richard E. Turley Jr., Glen M. Leonard, and Ronald G. Walker—will strongly dispute this. An advance report on their arguments appears in Will Bagley and Ron Walker, "Did Brigham Young Order a Massacre?" *True West* 50 (April 2003): 31-34. According to Walker's statements, they will apparently portray Young as entirely divorced from responsibility for the massacre.

Not having read the totality of documents that Bagley and Walker et al. have, I nevertheless find myself leaning toward a middle ground on this issue. In an unwise decision, Young apparently encouraged Native Americans to attack wagon trains (as the Dimick Huntington journal and other evidence shows). While he might not have personally ordered Mormons to murder everyone in the Fancher party old enough to be a solid witness (as Dame and Haight apparently did), he and Apostle George A. Smith encouraged Native American violence directed toward emigrants at this point in the Utah War. Then Young acted as accessory after the fact in the case of the Mountain Meadows Massacre since he learned the full details soon after it occurred (Brooks, *Mountain Meadows Massacre*, 219). Arguments that Young did not act to bring those responsible for the massacre to justice because the responsibility for trying the case was in the hands of the new governor and judges are ludicrous; if I find out that a murder has taken place, it is my duty as a citizen to make the details known and hasten the

course of justice in every possible way. In his ecclesiastical role, Young presumably should also have quickly investigated and excommunicated those involved, Dame and Haight at the very least.⁴

Of the 382 pages in Bagley's text, about 220 take place after the massacre. These pages describe the events after the event, many Mormons' efforts to censor the fact that Mormon leaders ordered and carried out the event, and the story of how the truth of the Mormon involvement gradually emerged. This account is as riveting, moving, partisan, infuriating, and tragic as the story of the massacre itself. Here again, Bagley's heroes are not the institutional Mormons censoring the story; they are journalists, judges, government officials, and historians who courageously brought the truth to light, including Juanita Brooks, a committed and practicing Mormon.

What are the lessons of the Mountain Meadows Massacre? To me, however you interpret the event, the most important moral is the danger of complete, unquestioning obedience. In war, in politics, in religion, in business, or elsewhere, completely submitting moral discernment to superiors—which many institutions will tend to encourage—can make subordinates complicit in crimes or injustices or coverups. As employees at Enron, we may follow orders and destroy evidence. As soldiers, we may take part in a My Lai massacre. As politicians or scholars, we might become “men for all seasons” to further our careers. But at times, civil disobedience (or, perhaps, Christian disobedience) is the right ethical choice.

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⁴Incidentally, Walker, “Did Brigham Young Order a Massacre?”, 33, argues that it is not likely that Young could have ordered the massacre because Lee, despite the motivation caused by his being scapegoated, never implicated him. Yet it would have been Dame, not Lee, who received the order from Salt Lake City and Dame was not picked as a focus in the trials. Lee, in his last *Confession*, wrote, “I then believed that he [Haight] acted by the direct order and command of William H. Dame, and others even higher in authority than Colonel Dame. One reason for thinking so was from a talk I had only a few days before, with Apostle George A. Smith, and he had just then seen Haight, and talked with him, and I knew that George A. Smith never talked of things that Brigham Young had not talked over with him before-hand.” John D. Lee, *Mormonism Unveiled, or the Life and Confessions of the Late Mormon Bishop John D. Lee* (St. Louis: Bryan, Brand, & Company, 1877), 221. Again, I am not arguing that Young ordered the Mountain Meadows Massacre—only that he was responsible for encouraging nonspecific acts of violence against emigrants during the Utah War.

BOOK NOTICES

The *Journal of Mormon History* invites contributions to this department, particularly of privately published family histories, local histories, biographies, historical fiction, publications of limited circulation, or those in which historical Mormonism is dealt with as a part or minor theme.

Richard Neitzel Holzapfel. *A History of Utah County*. Salt Lake City: Utah State Historical Society/Utah County Commission, 1999. xv, 434 pp. Map, photographs, notes, appendix of county communities based on the 1990 federal census, bibliography, index. Cloth: \$19.95; ISBN 0-913738-09-3

In addition to competent chapters on Native American residents of Utah County from prehistory through the nineteenth century (including armed and negotiated conflicts) and a discussion of the county's interesting landforms, Richard Neitzel Holzapfel organizes this history so that three separate chapters cover approximately the same period: (1) settlements between 1849 and 1890, (2) county government, 1850-96, and (3) "federal confrontation and reconciliation, 1850-90."

Utah County, which shares a border with Beaver County, also shares its mineral resources and mining history, although Bishop John Koyle's "dream mine" (142-45) near Salem is a colorful anomaly on the western American mining landscape. A late settlement effort was the federal government's (not the Mormon Church's) relocation of families from submarginal land in Widdowson (Garfield County) in Utah County during the Depression (219).

Statistics give many interesting glimpses of county life. For instance, on a single day in October 1917, Mormon women from Pleasant Grove, Manila, and Lindon bottled 1,100 quarts of tomatoes and fruit in response to the need for World War I food production, while Relief Society sisters in Springville and Mapleton contributed 6,700 bushels of wheat when the federal government requested it (172).

As another example, between 1925 and 1930, 63 percent of those obtaining marriage licenses in the county married in the temple, 22 percent had a civil ceremony followed by a temple marriage, and 15 percent married civilly. In contrast, 1905-10 statistics show 49.2 percent marrying initially in a temple, 25.4 in "a delayed temple ceremony," 6.3 percent in a church, and 19 percent married civilly (198).

In light of the continuing resistance to fluoridation in the state, an interesting 1900-01 episode was Utah County's participation in resisting mandatory smallpox vaccination legislation, despite devastating outbreaks of this often-fatal disease.

Petitions were submitted both pro and con from county residents, and one resident urged the governor to veto the bill on the grounds that "compulsion to us is very offensive." Eventually federal legislation overrode local option. Holzapfel comments: "This episode perhaps demonstrates a shift in attitude of the residents of the county from one of community cooperation and responsibility in the nineteenth century to one of individualism and little or no concern for the larger community of the early twentieth century, although it also manifests the conservatism and opposition to government mandates that the majority of county citizens have manifested from pioneer times to the present" (124). Another continuing controversy, the Central Utah (water) Project began, some readers may be surprised to learn, in 1945 (272).

Holzapfel makes a commendably conscientious effort to document the religious diversity in the landscape, beginning in the mid-nineteenth century. A 1973 survey found that Utah County had a church membership of 92 percent (the national average was about 50 percent), 97.8 percent were Mormons, 7.7 percent were unaffiliated, .9 percent were Roman Catholic, while the remaining 1.3 percent were distributed among eleven churches (317).

He chronicles the athletic achievement of Olympic star Alma Richards, the first Utahn to win a gold medal (158), and links him with "Clint Larson, another BYU athlete," who broke Richards's high jump record and set a new record at the Penn Relays track and field meet at Philadelphia in 1917 that stood for seventeen years (158). He fails to mention that Larson went on to teach English at BYU and become one of Mormonism's most prolific and stylistically sophisticated poets. A particularly lucid discussion details and illustrates the broad functions of the county court during the Utah period (76-82).

Among the many vivid anecdotes and quotations are these two examples: Robert Carter, a local history teacher, recorded in his diary a quarrel with a relative over the gubernatorial campaign of 1968: "I told him what [Calvin R.] Rampton had done to solve Utah's educational crisis and what kind of hell it was being a teacher under the ultra-do-nothing [George D.] Clyde administration . . . We parted both thinking each other damned and stupid. As one parting blow I told him both men were good, one was good at running a state government and the other was good with boy scouts" (305).

Reed Smoot, born and raised in Provo, had been Utah's hard-working U.S. senator for three decades when he lost his seat in the Democratic landslide of 1932. Holzapfel quotes Harvard Heath's dissertation on Smoot in recounting the pathos and dignity with which Smoot realized his fate. He settled down in his Washington, D.C., home with pencil and paper to tally the votes as they came in. Finally, when he realized that he had lost the election to Democrat Elbert Thomas, he laid aside his pad and pencil, folded his glasses carefully and tucked them into his vest pocket, stood up, "extended a hand to his wife" and said, "Come on, Alice. . . . It's past our bedtime" (214).

An unfortunate typographical error was "Jessie" for the first occurrence of Jesse Knight's name; and although the context makes it clear that "Jessie" is a man, all of the entries are indexed under this feminine form.

County. Salt Lake City: Utah State Historical Society/Juab County Commission, 1999. xii, 335 pp. Map, photographs, notes bibliography, index. Cloth: \$19.95; ISBN 0-913738-20-4

The ten chapters in this history describe the land, the original peoples of Juab County, exploration and early settlement, its Mormon settlement, the Tintic Mining District, turn of the century times, World War I, the Great Depression, World War II, and the contemporary county.

The discussion of early settlements is systematic and interesting (44-56). The town of "Joy" was not an expression of optimism but was named for a mining engineer (55). The sketch of York (52) is repeated virtually word for word later (72-73). The descriptions of dryfarming and hard-rock mining in the county (including its reliance on Welsh miners) are particularly interesting. A little-known anecdote recounts how Stephen Bliss Moore, one of the discoverers of the Sunbeam silver mine in 1869, confronted Brigham Young in Goshen: "I hear you have been mining?" 'Yes,' answered Stephen. 'Don't you know it is against my orders?' 'Yes.' 'Well, what do you intend to do?' Stephen answered, 'I intend to keep on mining.' President Young paused a moment, then said, 'Well, go ahead, and may God bless you'" (97).

The authors also describe Jesse Knight's model mining community, Knightville, with its neat neighborhoods, schools, well-paid workers, Sundays off, and no saloon (114). Another mining-related anecdote is the creation of the twenty-five-player Eureka Juvenile Band in the early 1910s, that came into being when a benefactor purchased some used horns and resold them to local youth for \$12.50 per instrument. Maynard Griggs "wanted his 'money's worth,' so he selected a huge E-flat horn. The band, which specialized in Sousa marches, paraded up and down Main Street on paydays. . . . [Griggs's] large horn was a receptacle for coins tossed by workers as the band marched by" (136-37).

Another interesting glimpse is given of the Order of Aaron (described with frustrating vagueness as "members of a religious group"—actually a sometimes polygamous Mormon schism), which founded Partoun in 1949 and filed for homestead rights on 6,000 acres. Under the leadership of Maurice Worth Glendenning, the community prospered for a decade, but the population in 1998 was listed as nine families (245-47).

Like other central Utah counties, Juab suffered acutely from economic slippages after World War II. An intriguing Mormon connection is the story of the Thermoid Western Company of Trenton, New Jersey, setting up a rubber products plant in Nephi in 1947. The authors write: "By some measures, Thermoid's choice of Nephi for its new plant made little sense. There was no nearby source of raw materials and no large nearby market for the company's products, so freight rates would be higher. Nevertheless, Thermoid officials said they were drawn to the area by the 'quantity and quality of Utah workers.' [President Fred E.] Schluter later told a group of business leaders that he had been persuaded to locate in Utah by David O. McKay . . . and Gus P. Backman, executive secretary of the Salt Lake City Chamber of Commerce. 'They convinced us that we should invest in the fine character of Utah citizens,' Schluter said. . . . By 1953 the Thermoid plant was

employing about 300 people, about one-third of the total labor force of eastern Juab County" (258). The union threatened a strike in 1955, claiming that Nephi workers received "30 percent less than other employees in the industry," a figure the authors neither confirm nor correct (261).

The volume is plagued by a particularly unfortunate series of typographical errors. On a single doublespread (86-87), an individual is named as "Gibson" in a quotation but as "Gilson" twice in the following paragraph, while "LDS Cchurch" and "re4ligious instruction" follow. An apparently mislabeled photograph, "West Desert School" (54), shows only a gravel road, sagebrush flats, and a distant hill, while George C. Whitmore's ornate mansion in Nephi is captioned as belonging to "George W. Whitmore" (82).

Frederick M. Huchel. *A History of Box Elder County*. Salt Lake City: Utah State Historical Society/Box Elder County Commission, 1999. xiv, 451 pp. Map, photographs, notes, bibliography, index. Cloth: \$19.95; ISBN 0-913738-20-4

The thirteen chapters in this county history are "The Natural Setting," "Man Before History," "Trappers, Explorers, Goldseekers," "The Saints Come Marching In," "The Cooperative and the United Order Movement," "The Transcontinental Railroad," "Corinne: The City of the Ungodly," "The Box Elder Tabernacle," "The Non-LDS Churches in Box Elder County," "Into the Twentieth Century," "Box Elder County in the Last Half of the Twentieth Century," "Reflections on Box Elder County at the End of the 20th Century," and "The Towns of Box Elder," which provides historical summaries of the communities in alphabetical order.

Among the interesting facts are that Box Elder is the fourth largest county and has double the percentage of private land ownership as in the state (48 percent) (1). Shoshoni leader Moroni Timbimboo at Washakie was the first Native American bishop in the LDS Church (82). Corinne's streets were literally paved with gold, since tons of crushed slag from the smelter on the Bear River that processed Montana ore were, during the 1880s, found to assay at twenty dollars worth of gold to the ton (134). When the stake presidency tried, first, to suppress the construction of a dance floor by two local musicians, then demanded that it be demolished, "the pavilion was opened in June 1903 with some 300 couples attending the pavilion dance while, according to the *Salt Lake Tribune*, only twelve couples attended the church-sponsored dance at the Opera House" (210).

Strong contributions include descriptions of the area by Jedediah Smith, Howard Stansbury, and John C. Fremont (45-53), the origins of the name "Corinne," the irresistible success and diversity of Lorenzo Snow's cooperative in Brigham City (forty departments, even including one to "supervise itinerant labor" of passing tramps, 97) (chap. 5), the religious impulse behind the founding of the Indian Farm at Washakie (82), the hilarious mishaps at the ceremonial union of the rails at Promontory Summit in 1869 (chap. 7), and the construction of Brigham City's remarkable tabernacle, its destruction by fire, its reconstruction, and Boyd K. Packer's intervention to save it from demolition after sixty years "of maintenance, of neglect, and of decline" (160-61). Chapter 12 provides evocative "reflections" on the

county's institutions (such as Peach Days), and the relationships between industry, economics, and the people.

Frederick Huchel writes with definite, though muted, opinions. For instance, the Brigham City woolen mill, which operated until the late 1980s, now "stands empty and neglected, though [it] still houses invaluable pieces of the original water-power equipment, some unique in the state of Utah" (99). Heber J. Grant "deeded away the temple site, chosen by Brigham Young, on the point of the gravel bench above Brigham City now known as 'Reservoir Hill.' We can only imagine what Brigham City would have been like, especially that part of town, if the temple had been built" (191). As part of his discussion on the Great Depression, he reports the experience of his older sister, sent next door on a Sunday when the family had no food, to beg a few carrots from the neighbor's garden. The neighbor sent the little girl back home with the stern rebuke, "We do not dig carrots on the Sabbath" (250).

After describing the cascade of healthy industries (factories, farming, irrigation, and railroad construction) that followed the successful establishment of sugar-beet farming near Garland in the 1890s, Huchel also describes the abrupt demise of the industry when, in 1980, "the major stockholder of the Utah-Idaho Sugar Company decided that the sugar industry was no longer profitable" (229). It seems unnecessarily tactful to avoid mentioning that this stockholder was the LDS Church but Huchel clarifies the situation with a colorful quotation in a footnote from a farmer he had interviewed: "I have raised sugar beets all my life. Every time there was an experimental project, I let them use my land to try it out. We worked to eliminate disease, and to raise a weed-free crop. Just this past year, I was *finally* able to raise a weed-free, disease-free, perfect crop of sugar beets. Then, with a stroke of his pen, N. Eldon Tanner killed the sugar beet industry in Utah. I probably know more about raising sugar beets than any other man alive. And what the hell good does it do me now?" (261-62).

However, Huchel does not comment on one historical irony. He records that the "Chinese foreman" of the Central Pacific crews received "a standing ovation" from the officials in Leland Stanford's private car for the "monumental construction feat of the Chinese crews," without naming this individual or commenting on its apparent omission from the official histories (120).

A flock of pesky typographical errors plague the text, among them: "counties" instead of "county's," "praire" instead of "prairie," "plat may of corinne," "hugh slag piles," "bullwacker," "oriental good [food]," and "leu us clear our skirts" (24, 35, 143, 134, 175, 214, 232).

Janet Burton Seegmiller. *A History of Iron County: Community Above Self*. Salt Lake City: Utah State Historical Society/Iron County Commission, 1998. 454 pp. Notes, map, illustrations, appendices, index. Cloth: \$19.95, ISBN: 0-913739-19-0

Seegmiller's introduction explains her subtitle:

Ancient peoples cooperated to survive or were swept from the land. Generally, white settlers worked to advance their communities and succeeded, although not always as expected. Most who came for personal advantage gained little for themselves and did not stay long.

... The first generation of white settlers built the Parowan Rock Church and Cedar City LDS Tabernacle, established dramatic associations, and built two opera houses; they also formed choirs and brass bands that were known throughout the territory. ... The founding of the Branch Normal School at Cedar City in 1897 [now Southern Utah University] is a story of sacrifice noteworthy in education history. And that was only the beginning, as it was a struggle to keep the school open during wars and depressions and to finally bring it to prominence as a university.

In the twentieth century, members of Parowan and Cedar City commercial clubs volunteered to build roads for automobiles, publicized scenic wonders, purchased the right-of-way for a railroad spur into Cedar City, and began the El Escalante Hotel as a community project. Citizens voted to bond themselves to build the Iron County Hospital in 1922 and then volunteered land and labor to save construction costs. During the Depression, Cedar City's residents raised \$90,000 to reopen the Bank of Southern Utah (the only bank in Utah reopened in this difficult economic period).

The Zion Easter Pageant, annual performances of Handel's *Messiah*, the Music Arts Council, the "college Cabin," Brian Head ski resort, the Spring Art Festival, Utah Shakespearean Festival, Ashcroft Observatory, Southern Utah University Centrum, Utah Summer Games, Renaissance Faire, Paiute Pow-wows, Parowan Heritage Park, and the Iron County Centennial Circle owe their existence to cooperation among businesses, city councils, and willing volunteers. All this is in addition to service clubs which sponsor 4 July and 24 July celebrations and help at the Iron County Fair and volunteers who coach Little League sports, serve as scoutmasters and 4-H Club leaders, and clean up after all-to[o]-frequent summer floods. (4-6)

The history is organized in twenty-one chapters, an introduction, and an epilogue appraising the county's current economy and prospects. Other chapters cover the landforms (the county contains three mountain ranges, two national forests, and part of Zion National Park. Coal Creek changes color with "even a light rain"—red if the rainfall is in Cedar Breaks, chocolate from Maple Canyon, and milky from the gypsum hills [285-86]); ancient inhabitants, white travelers, Mormon exploration and colonization, the Iron Mission (especially chap. 5), another chapter on nineteenth-century history, two chapters on the twentieth century (residents were bemused at being asked to ship their wheat out of the county and import, as substitutes, rice and beans [103-4]); a chapter of communities in the county arranged alphabetically, and thematic chapters on contemporary Native Americans (the plight of the Paiutes and other tribes in this century is particularly poignant); education; health care; the arts, religion; water; public lands; mining (even after the failure of the Iron Mission, efforts to mine the iron continued. In the early 1870s, local ore was cast into the twelve oxen for the St. George baptismal font [82]). The county's iron mines made it the second

wealthiest in the state—ironically in the 1850s, a century after its heroic but failed sacrifices to launch the industry [3]. Chattering Geiger counters in the 1950s produced rumors of uranium strikes, but they were actually picking up fallout from the Nevada nuclear test site [346]; farming and livestock; transportation (the first car did not reach Iron County until 1907, eight years after Salt Lake City [98]); and tourism (six thousand turned out to welcome U.S. President Warren G. Harding in 1923 when he and his entourage visited Zion National Park [108]).

Although Mormon influence has been dominant in the county since the 1850s, the most explicit discussion occurs in the chapters on the nineteenth century. About a fifth of the residents lived in polygamous households in 1880 (84); and the only polygamist killed by a federal marshal during the “Raid” was county resident Edward Meeks Dalton, whose large tombstone in the Parowan Cemetery was erected through donations from MIA members (86-87). Ellen Whittaker Lunt kept the minutes of the Cedar City Relief Society, organized in 1856, for thirty-five years. The first volume is begun on sheets of donated paper, usually a single sheet or at most two. Only one sister could contribute as many as six. Lunt bound the odd-sized sheets “between pasteboard covers” covered with English wallpaper and reinforced at the spine and corners with buckskin (268).

Seegmiller’s succinct three-page discussion of the Mountains Meadows Massacre (66-69) is embedded in the larger story of the Iron Mission and the Utah War, which ended the need for locally produced iron. All three factors combined to encourage a wave of departures from the area leaving behind only those too poor to move. “Real estate and farms could hardly be given away. Over half the farm land was abandoned—there was no one to buy it and not enough men left to farm it” (69-70). She also outlines a fascinating conflict between ecclesiastical leaders William Dame (sitting president and also bishop) and Jesse N. Smith (one of his counselors), culminating in such resistance to Brigham Young’s 1877 effort to make Smith stake president that “he left without making the change” (78, 80).

The Enterprise Ward meetinghouse built a new chapel in the 1940s when the Escalante Silver Mine title “somehow passed” to Church President Heber J. Grant, whose widow gave it to the ward (343).

A twentieth-century example of on-going cooperation is the construction of the Cedar City’s Rock Church, “a monument to ingenuity born of the Depression years.” Local materials included not only colored rocks, pine, cedar, gypsum, granite, local iron for chandeliers and hinges, but also carpets woven from the wool of local sheep (110-11).

Linda King Newell. *A History of Piute County*. Salt Lake City: Utah State Historical Society/Piute County Commission, 1999. xi, 341 pp. Map, illustrations, notes, bibliography, index. Cloth: \$19.95, ISBN: 0-913738-39-5

Piute County, in almost the exact center of Utah, is smallest in size (754 square miles—it originally ran from the Tushar Mountains to the Colorado border) and population (1,277 in 1990), with only seven communities, only four of them incorporated and none with more than 450 inhabitants. In a

word, this is a county where every resident can know every other resident. Linda King Newell, descended on both sides from county families, used those first generations of her family as the subject of her MHA presidential address and studs her history with scores of vivid vignettes, tales, and details, giving the reader the impression of also knowing a significant number of the county's people, both living and dead. For example, forty pans of milk were shaken off the shelf in Ed and Catherine Foisy's dairy during the 1901 earthquake (196).

Piute County was "on the way" to somewhere else for a long time, since the first Mormon settlement did not occur until early 1863 (55) and the first LDS branch was not established until 1883 (103). The Black Hawk War (1965-67) had its effect in Piute County. Mormon militia from Sanpete County massacred women, children, and old men near Glenwood who felt safe because the band's chief, he said, had "a paper from the Bishop [so] they won't bother us." When the militia attacked, he ran toward the soldiers waving the paper and calling out, "We are not at war with you." A soldier decapitated him with a savage swing of his sword (74-75). Circleville was the scene for a massacre in April 1866 made even more gruesome by its stealth and protracted deliberation. The Mormon settlers took prisoner about sixteen Paiute men and about the same number of women and children, none of whom had been involved in the hostilities. The men were taken to the meetinghouse while the women and children were placed in a cellar. Then, one at a time, the men were led outside where "one person clubbed them in the back of the head, stunning them, then another cut their throats with a knife. After all the men were dead, all of the women and older children were killed in the same way" (83-85). The process must have taken hours. The killers then put the bodies in the cellar and filled it in with dirt. The community was evacuated, but it is little wonder that "only a few of the original settlers would ever return to live in Piute County" (87).

Newell's paternal ancestors, Francis (Frank) and Marcia King, entered Utah traveling with the Fancher party but waited in Salt Lake City to allow Marcia to recuperate from an illness, planning to catch up with them later. By the time they were ready to move on, the members of that train were dead at Mountain Meadows. The bishop in Beaver advised them to winter there because of the "Indians," but Mormons three times ordered King to move on. With winter upon them and Marcia ill with a pregnancy, they joined Marcia's brother and sister-in-law in Manti, were baptized, and concealed their former association with the Fanchers (65-68). They moved to Marysvale in 1864; for a time in the late 1860s, they were its only inhabitants, and Frank King actually discovered gold in the area (94). At John D. Lee's 1876 (first) trial, Frank King testified cautiously and briefly, mostly about the livestock. "In years to come," commented his author-descendant, "... he would remember much more than he did at the trial" and wrote a letter containing those details in 1910 to feisty newspaperman Josiah Gibbs (105).

A sample of Gibbs's no-holds-barred prose appears in his encouragement to the citizens of Marysvale to fund a fire department: "Is there a 'dime-squeezer' in town so utterly, hopelessly and damnably dead to civic progress as to vote 'no'?" (218)

The Thomas Rice King family (no relation to Frank and Marcia) wrote another chapter in Piute County history when Brigham Young called them in 1876 to create a family United Order near Circleville, an assignment they struggled with for six years before calling it quits. Their story, which included five sons and a daughter, all married and with children, is a more complex and interesting tale than the usual stereotype of obedient pioneers, pulling up stakes and cheerfully relocating. In the first place, the call came suspiciously quickly after "Apostle Lorenzo Snow publicly accused Thomas King of diverting waters of Chalk Creek in Fillmore for his own rather than the public use, an assertion that King denied" (123). Then the son-in-law, who had come to Fillmore from Salt Lake City in response to a call, announced, "I absolutely refuse to go into that wild country again or go through the sacrifices which we have passed through" (124). King's grandson had an equally negative opinion of this calling: "When Grandfather was called to this mission he was [63] years old and suffering from heart disease. . . . Had Brigham taken him out and had him shot it would have been an act of charity, but at that age to send him away to that God-forsaken country at the request of jealous church members in old Fillmore was a shame" (132). At its peak, the order had 257 members and had established a number of farms and industries; but after King's death, leadership problems, rustling, and flooding combined to unravel the order.

One of King's sons, Volney, was known for blessings on the food so long-winded that the cooks hoped he'd be called on if they were late with the meals (130). He remained in the county, taught school, became a county commissioner, organized road districts and water rights, issued irrigation permits, and was the county's prosecuting attorney and secretary of the People's Party. "When he ran for constable, he didn't vote for himself and ended up losing the election by one vote" (134). When federal marshals came to his house looking for Volney's brother, Volney's wife denied knowing his whereabouts. When her seven-year-old said, "Why, Mom, Uncle Culbert was just here and when he left he headed down the lane," the youngster received a spanking, "not for telling the truth, but for contradicting his mother," a legalism which may have escaped him (153). (Larry King, MHA's executive co-director with his wife Alene, is a descendant of Thomas Rice King.)

Other actors stroll across Piute County's stage. Laban Morrill was "arguably the lone hero in the Mountain Meadows incident" for insisting that plans for the massacre not proceed without asking Brigham Young for instructions (106). His son Jack was in charge of the fish hatchery at Blue Springs in Garfield County and froze to death trying to return home with the Christmas mail in 1915, collapsing only seventy-five feet from shelter. Meanwhile, his wife and her five children were keeping the cows milked and animals fed despite a "furious storm" that "piled four feet of new snow on drifts already ten to twelve feet high" and ended up completely covering the house (211). A rescue party from Panguitch found Jack's body and brought out the family.

Belle Harris Merrill, an unhappy third wife, divorced her husband when she was pregnant with her second child. The baby was only two weeks old

and she was living with her parents in Junction when she was subpoenaed to appear before a grand jury. She refused to answer any questions about her relationship with her ex-husband, was sentenced to four months imprisonment for contempt of court, and became the first woman prisoner in the Utah Penitentiary where her baby celebrated his first birthday (152).

French-Canadian Edward Foisy came to Piute County around 1877 to seek gold, married a Mormon girl, and stayed in Piute County for the rest of his life. He was blacksmithing for the Pacific Telegraph Company when he invented linemen's spikes—"a pair of sharp spikes that could be strapped onto a worker's feet" with a belt to fasten man to pole. The speed these "contraptions" gave the wire-fastening workmen let the eastern line from Omaha reach Salt Lake City "a full week ahead of the western line" (101). Although he never converted to Mormonism, his descendants, including author Linda King Newell, were raised Mormon.

David O. McKay, future Church president, spent the summer of 1926 raising forty acres of seed potatoes near Junction, producing "the largest [crop] ever harvested." As a result, he is considered "father of the Piute Potato Growers Association" (241-42).

Utah's governor Calvin L. Rampton even played a role. Two years out of law school, he prosecuted a killing precipitated by a quarrel over water rights as assistant attorney general, leaving his wife and newborn daughter in the hospital. Two hundred spectators crowded into the second-floor courtroom. Just as the judge began reading his instructions to the jury, "a loud boom" sounded, "the building shook violently, and the courtroom floor tipped." While the spectators were frozen in shock, the quick-thinking judge ordered everyone in the hall to vacate the building, followed by the standees. He then ordered the spectators out, row by row. Without panic or injury, the building was emptied. They discovered that a beam had collapsed under the weight of the spectators. The trial resumed in the Mormon meeting house, and the jury brought in a verdict of self-defense. Rampton later decided that "justice was probably served in light of the mores of western agricultural communities at the time" (280).

This interesting text is marred by a number of unfortunate typographical errors, perhaps the most annoying of which is "Ephriam" for "Ephraim," both as a personal and a place name (eg., 35, 39, 56, etc.)

Stanford J. Layton, ed. *Being Different: Stories of Utah's Minorities*. Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 2001. xi, 243 pp. Photographs, notes, index. \$21.95 paper. ISBN 1-56085-150-3

This second volume of "favorite readings" from the *Utah Historical Quarterly* brings together fourteen articles originally published between 1965 and 1995 that illuminate the histories of some of Utah's ethnic and cultural groups.

The first, "Utah's Ethnic Minorities: A Survey," by Richard O. Ulibarri, provides a brief overview. Other articles include "The Skull Valley Band of the Goshute Tribe—Deeply Attached to Their Native Homeland," by Steven J. Crum; "No Place to Pitch Their Teepees': Shoshone Adaptation to Mor-

mon Settlers in Cache Valley, 1855-70," by John W. Heaton; "Justice in the Black Hawk War: The Trial of Thomas Jose," by Albert Winkler; "Improbable Ambassadors: Black Soldiers at Fort Douglas, 1896-99," by Michael J. Clark; "Life at Iosepa, Utah's Polynesian Colony," by Tracey E. Panek; "Clarion, Utah, Jewish Colony in 'Zion,'" by Everett L. Cooley; "Japanese Americans and Keetley Farms: Utah's Relocation Colony," by Sandra C. Taylor; "Life and Labor among the Immigrants of Bingham Canyon, Utah," by Helen Zeese Papanikolas; "Utah's Ellis Island: The Difficult 'Americanization' of Carbon County," by Philip F. Notarianni; "The Evolution of Culture and Tradition in Utah's Mexican-American Community," by Edward H. Mayer; "Folklore of Utah's Little Scandinavia," by William A. Wilson; "Serbian-Austrian Christmas at Highland Boy," by Claire Noall; and "The Memory Box," by Irene Stoof Pearmain.

Journal readers will find the articles about Utah's Native Americans reflecting interesting variations in Mormon attitudes. Certainly, as Heaton points out, the oft-quoted statement that it was "cheaper to feed the Indians than to fight them" (37) belies the complexity of relationships. Winkler writes that, although crimes by whites against Indians had often gone unpunished, by 1866, during the Black Hawk War, Church leaders worried that an unpunished murder might lead to further atrocities and directed that "the murderer of a friendly Indian . . . should be taken by the civil authorities; and punished, as any other murderer" (54).

Panek's history of Iosepa reflects a different sort of Church intervention. After Polynesian converts faced prejudice and unemployment in Salt Lake City, the First Presidency decided in 1889 that a separate community "would preserve the Polynesian culture, permit the immigrants to be self-sufficient by raising crops and livestock, and provide a permanent gathering place for future South Pacific emigrants" (89). They purchased property in Skull Valley, Tooele County where, over the next twenty-five years, "immigrants battled isolation, severe weather, economic depression, and a high mortality rate" (87) but succeeded in establishing a thriving community.

Mormon Scandinavians in Utah's Sanpete-Sevier region also faced physical and cultural challenges, and their folklore reflects "the group's dominant attitudes, values, and concerns" (197). Among polygamy stories, many concern shrewd polygamists who outwitted legal authorities, an emphasis Wilson finds rather ironic, given the pride contemporary Mormons take in obeying the law. One account tells of a Fountain Green man and six wives summoned to Provo to face charges. The man left his wives resting in the shade at the cemetery while he went to court. When the judge asked where the wives were, the man replied, "In the cemetery, every one." The judge took pity on him and dropped all charges (205).

Like the first volume in the series, this one contains one illustration for each article, an index, and notes on authors.

Becky Cardon Smith. *The LDS Family Travel Guide: Independence to Nauvoo*. Orem, Utah: Granite Publishing and Distribution, 2002. 264 pp. Illustrations, maps. Paper: \$14.95, ISBN 1-930980-78-7

This family-friendly combination of trip planner and travel guide by a mother of four focuses on the Missouri and Illinois Mormon history sites. Smith introduces the book with tips for successful traveling and an overview of the Church history, much of the most contemporary information being drawn from Ron Putz and Bill Curtis of the Missouri Mormon Frontier Foundation, whose tours she recommends. Separate chapters are devoted to Independence, Liberty, Lexington, Richmond, Far West, Haun's Mill, Gallatin, Adam-Ondi-Ahman, Jamesport (an Amish locale), Hannibal (home of Mark Twain), Nauvoo, and Carthage. The workbook section contains one page per site to be filled in with date, a list of "must see or do's," "nice to see or do's," expenses, lodging, address, rate, phone, and notes. Each chapter is then organized by these categories, including other essential information: getting there, history, sites, LDS Church service locales and schedules, restaurants, and lodging.

In addition to the historical overviews in the book, Smith suggests other readings (*Ensign* articles, not always identified by author's name; Ivan J. Barrett, Richard Neitzel Holzapfel and T. Jeffery Cottle, both *History of the Church* and *Comprehensive History of the Church*, and Alvin R. Dyer's *The Refiner's Fire*). She recommends no Community of Christ sources, although she includes its sites at Independence and Nauvoo, and persistently misidentifies it as "Community of Christ Church, formerly known as the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints" ("Church" is not part of the name, and the former name was spelled "Latter Day Saints," not "Latter-day Saints," which is the spelling of the Utah church.) Although Smith mentions Emma Hale Smith's remarriage to Lewis C. Bidamon (212), at every other mention in the book she is called "Emma Smith," regardless of the period.

Numerous photographs of contemporary buildings, gravestones, and landscapes complement the text.

Larry E. Morris. *A Treasury of Latter-day Saint Letters*. Salt Lake City: Eagle Gate, 2001. 247 pp. Notes, biographical summaries, bibliography, index. Cloth: \$19.95, ISBN 1-57345-961-5

This collection of forty-seven letters, spanning from 1832 to 1985, are organized in five divisions according to the relationship of the writer and the recipient:

1. "Husbands and Wives": Joseph Smith to Emma Hale Smith, 1832; Emma Hale Smith to Joseph Smith, 1837; Phoebe Carter Woodruff to Wilford Woodruff, 1840; Diantha Farr Clayton to William Clayton, 1846; Camilla Eyring Kimball to Spencer W. Kimball; Spencer W. Kimball to Camilla Eyring Kimball, 1933; Ezra Taft Benson to Flora Amussen Benson, 1946; and Hugh B. Brown to Zina Card Brown, 1962.

2. "Beloved Families": Mary Fielding Smith to Joseph Fielding, June 1839; John Taylor to his family, 1850; Joseph F. Smith to Joseph Fielding Smith, 1899; Charles A. Callis to Kathleen Callis Larsen, 1927; John A. Widtsoe and Leah Dunford Widtsoe to Susa Young Gates, 1930; Zina Young Card to Susa Young Gates, 1931; Joseph Fielding Smith to Lewis

Smith, 1934; David O. McKay to his sons and daughters, 1934; and Harold B. Lee to Helen Lee Goates, 1946.

3. "Friends in Zion": Joseph Smith to Oliver Cowdery, 1829; Oliver Cowdery to Phineas H. Young, 1846; George Albert Smith to Reed Smoot, 1912; Susa Young Gates to Amy Brown Lyman, 1916; Julina Lambson Smith to Reed Smoot, 1920; Reed Smoot to Julina Lambson Smith, 1920; J. Golden Kimball to Levi Edgar Young, 1931; Matthew Cowley to the Elkington family, 1943; Belle S. Spafford to Ethel Taylor Sessions, 1950; Hugh B. Brown to Adam S. Bennion, 1953; Spencer W. Kimball to Delbert L. Stapley, 1957; J. Willard Marriott to Gordon B. Hinckley, 1958; and G. Homer Durham to Thomas S. Monson, 1976.

4. "The Work of the Kingdom": Oliver Cowdery to W. W. Phelps, 1834; Brigham Young to Lucy Mack Smith, 1847; Lorenzo Snow to Franklin D. Richards, 1852; Eliza R. Snow to Aurelia Spencer Rogers, 1878; Heber J. Grant to Amy Brown Lyman, 1918; James E. Talmage to Charles A. Callis, 1931; Nigerian investigators to the Missionary Department, 1972; Obinna brothers to the First Presidency, 1978; Gordon B. Hinckley to J. Willard Marriott, 1985; Vance Taylor to Howard W. Hunter, 1992; and Jon M. Huntsman to an individual seeking counsel ca. 1995.

5. "Fellowship with Public Figures": Joseph Smith to John Wentworth, 1842; Reed Smoot to Theodore Roosevelt, 1904; Theodore Roosevelt to Reed Smoot, 1904; Herbert Hoover to J. Reuben Clark Jr., 1941; J. Edgar Hoover to J. Willard Marriott, 1958; and G. Homer Durham to Barry Goldwater.

Eleven of these letters are identified in the endnotes as having been reprinted, but this means in at least some cases that Morris has gone to the archival document (or in two cases to the writer or heir of the writer), not that none of the remaining thirty-six letters have never been printed. For instance, Brigham Young's letter to Lucy Mack Smith, for which Morris used Brigham Young correspondence, is printed in James R. Clark, ed., *Messages of the First Presidency of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*, 6 vols. (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, Inc., 1965-75), 1:319-21.

Each letter is introduced by a brief narrative describing the historical setting or events that preceded the composition of the letter and usually followed with a similar discussion describing relevant events and relationships that occurred after the letter was written. Thus, each letter is presented in a carefully realized historic and biographical context. Footnotes explain references in the letter as needed while endnotes describe the provenance and printing history of the document. The detailed index makes this work particularly helpful as a reference.

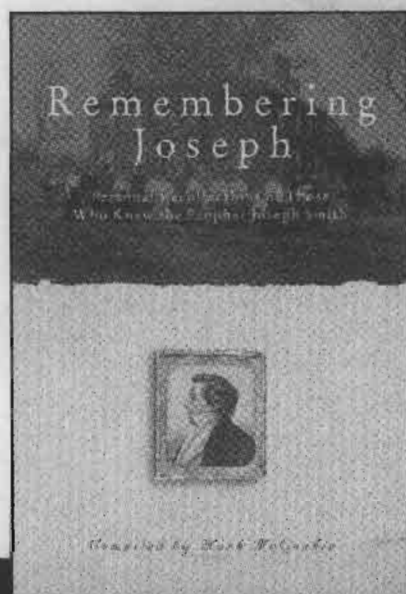
As an example of a previously unpublished letter, J. Willard Marriott in 1958 "requested information from J. Edgar Hoover concerning LDS FBI agents" (200). Hoover responded, explaining that the FBI maintains "no record of the religious affiliation of FBI employees" (204), but commending six whom he knew as LDS, not all of them by name. He singled out Samuel P. Cowley, son of Apostle Matthias F. Cowley, who died in the line of service for high praise:

Sam Cowley had true courage. He was a plain, direct, devout man with the simplicity of true worth, honor and dignity. His whole duty was based on simple faith and determination to do his duty. What was necessary to do was done with dignity.

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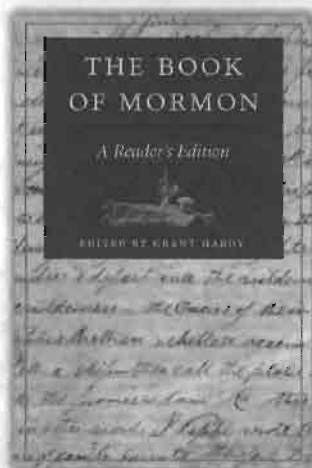
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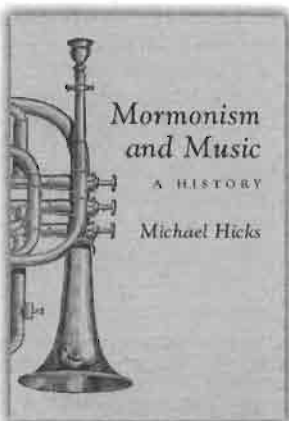
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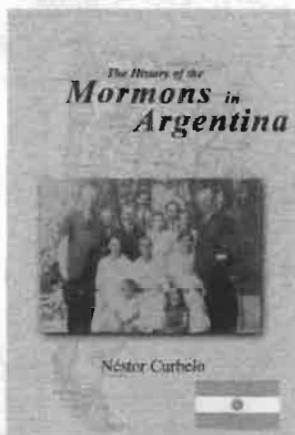
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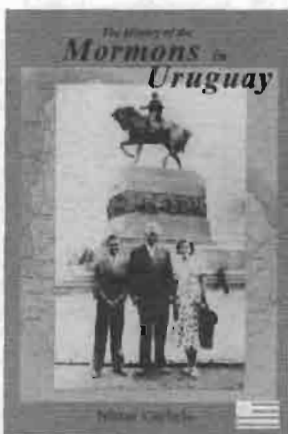
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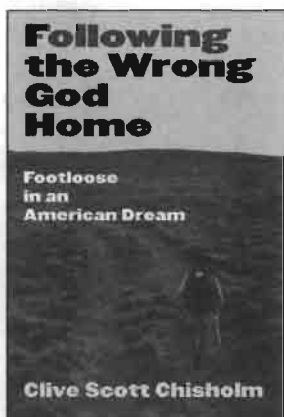
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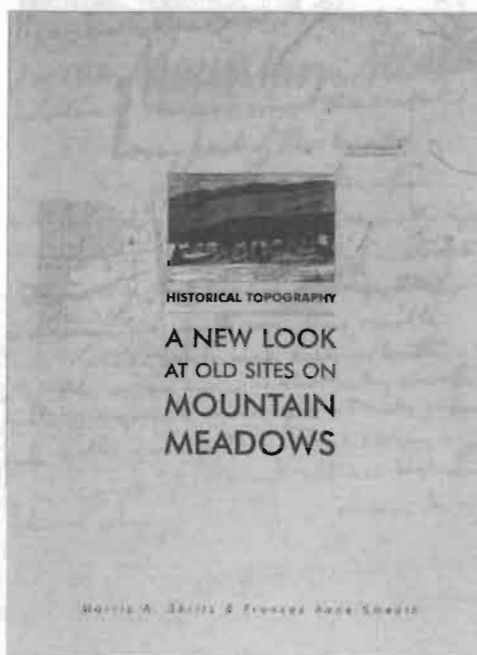
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